

A  
SERMON

At the Funerall of the truely  
Vertuous, Honourable, Valiant, in  
Fame, never-dying,

*Sir Simon Harcourt,*

One of his Majesties most Honourable  
Privie Councell in the Realme of *Ireland*, and  
Colonell over some of His Majesties forces there.

Preached in *Christ-Church* in  
*Dublin*, *Mar. 31. 1642.*

Before the Lords Justices, and the rest of His Maje-  
sties most Honourable Privie Councell, his Majesties  
Commanders and Souldiers for that present service.

By *Edward Dunstervill*, Batchelour of Divinitie.

*Opus unius Diei.*

Now published by Command of the House of  
**PARLIAMENT.**

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London Printed for *Richard Badger.*

1642.







# A SERMON

Preached at the Funerall of  
Sir SIMON HARCOURT  
COLONEL in IRELAND.

1 Chron. 35. 23, 24.

*And the Archers shot at King Iosiah, and the King said  
to his servants, have me away for I am sore wounded.*

*His servants therefore took him out of that Chariot and  
put him in the second Chariot that he had; and they  
brought him to Ierusalem and bee dyed, and was buried  
in the Sepulchre of his Fathers, and all Iudah, and Ie-  
rusalem mourned for Iosiah.*

**H**ave this day upon this most sad occasi-  
on two fable subjects to treat on, one in  
the Text, the other out of the Text, the  
first is of slaine Iosiah, a godly Prince,  
the second is of this slaine Colonell a  
godly subject: which two valiant worthies as they a-

A 2                      greed

\* *Mutato  
nomine de il-  
la fabula.*

greed in most things in the manner of their life, so did they also in the manner of their untimely-timely death \*. For *Iosiah* was shot in the field by an enemy, and so was he: *Iosiah* was thereby sorely wounded, and God knows so was he; *Iosiah* was then carryed of in a Chariot by his servants, so was he by his servants, and sad Officers; *Iosiah* dyed of the stroake, and so did he; *Iosiah* had the blessing to be buried in *Ierusalem*, and so hath hee in this Citie; in a word *Iosiah* was much lamented both in *Ierusalem*, and *Iudah*, and so will he be of all Gods servants, and Loyall Subjects, in the severall Kingdomes of his Majesties Dominion.

Give me leave to speak of the latter Subject first, if it be but to ease my owne present sad thoughts for him.

Omitting to say any thing of his worthy descent, of his goodly education, his matching into an honourable family, of his high Command, and how famously he hath behav'd himselfe in forraigne services.

To begin with him at home.

1. Hee was one who had an honourable repute in his and our Nation, with the most honourable there of a prudent faithfull and choyce Warrior, which may appeare by His Majesties and the Honourable *Parliaments* joynt Election of him for this our great service.

2. He was one who from a Child was employed in the Military service of our faith and not affected as some with glorious weares, yet which is honourable indeed one that bore in his body Martyr-like, the markes of *Christ Iesus*, having beene before this his last two severall times sore wounded in two severall services at *Mastrichte* and *Kinsconce*.

3. And

3. And in a word which is the best of his renowne, the diamond in his gold, he was godly, honest, temperate and faithfull as well to God and his Conscience, as to His King and Country.

Durst I presume to enlarge my selfe further than my limited time, I could tell you rare things of his devotion, of his frequency in private prayer, of his godly exercise with his Family, of his diligence in reading the Scripture and other holy bookes: Seldome, as I received, from diverse of those best acquainted with him did he come alone to his Chamber, but immediately, for the most part he addrest himselfe to the Bible or some other good booke; a sure argument, that he had his delight in the *Law of the Lord*, and therefore in a blessed condition.

In the time of my short acquaintance with him I had in private a bundell of such sweet holy divine expressions from him, which without trespassing on my Conscience, I may say, then filled my soule with ravishment of joy, as it is now with sorrow, that God should be so gracious unto this distressed land, to send us in this needfull time a leader of his people, one as well vertuous as valorous, one that was both a *Ioshuah* and a *Iosiah*, and indeed such a worthy of whom we in this sinfull kingdome were not worthy.

It is worth recording that immediately before his fore stroke he was reproving a Souldier for swearing, demanding what if *God* had taken him away with that oath in his mouth.

After being himselfe stricken; and deeming his wound to be mortall, hee with great willingnesse and patient mildnesse submitted himselfe to the *Loards* will, and to my knowledge so continued unto the end.

It

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It is true hee lay the after night and many houres the next day in a constant torture of unutterable griefs which could not but trouble each beholder, and yet in all the time of my being with him, I never heard one impatient passage from him, but comforting himselfe that it was in Gods cause he suffered, saying to me, had it not beene his cause, he would never have come over hirher on the service; and in a word, passing by many devout passages, as long as his weary spirits had any vigour he scarce ever ceased sending forth with great comfort and confidence most strong cryes & prayers; and as one supposing every breath to be his last, would frequently end his requests with that sweet dying saying of Saint Steven, *Lord into thy hands I give my spirit*, and in the end with the breathing out of our prayers for his salvation he gave up the Ghost; So that howsoever his sore wounded, dead, and bloud-died body is here with us to be inter'd in the dust, yet am I confident that his pure bathed soule is with the soule of *Iosiah*, with the soules of the blessed Martyrs, and of the just men made perfect in the presence of *Iesus Christ*, who was sore wounded for his transgressions, bruised and slaine for his sinnes, where he is triumphantly rejoycing like a great Conqueror, where he is made of a godly subject and valiant Souldier on earth, a most glorious happy and immortall King in Heaven. *For blessed and holy is hee who hath part in the first Resurrection, On him the second death shall have no power, but they shall bee Priests of God and of CHRIST and shall Reigne with him a thousand yeares, Rev. 20.6.*

Heb. 12. 23.  
Iſa. 53. 5.

And thus much of the first thing proposed in this Treatise, the subject out of the Text; to wit the tragicall

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gicall story of this slaine Christian Colonell.

I proceed to speake of the second thing, of the subject in the Text, which is a like tragicall, to wit, of the farall death of that godly valiant King *Josiah*.

*And the Archers shot at King Josiah, and the King said; have me away for I am sore wounded, &c.*

Least I should trespassse my commands, which is to bee brieft, I have hence cull'd out two particulars only to treat of:

The first is of *Josiahs* death.

The second is of the peoples lamentation for him.

Certaine it is that there was not a King after *David* over *Judah* and *Israel* like unto *Josiah*; who so reads the Bible *History* shall finde most glorious things recorded of him. It is said of *Goliath*, *1 Sam. 17. 33.* *That he was a man of Warre from his youth, but of this Josiah that from his youth hee did seeke after the God of David; and in the twelfth yeare he began to purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places, &c. 2 Chron. 34. 5, 6. Hee did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and turned not aside to the right hand or to the left, 2 King. 23. 2.* In a word such was his zeale against Idolatry and to the service of the Lord, that hee remains on sacred record without parallell; and yet for all this, you see that *Josiah* was shot, *Josiah* was sore wounded and taken away with a stroake of an enemy in the Field as well as others. Whence we may observe this conclusion, that

*The events, occurrences and stroaks of Warre, they may betide the good as well as the bad, the best as well as the worst of the Lords people.*



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*1 Sam. 17.* In the great battaile betwixt the *Philistines*, and *Israel*, God by *Dauids* hand with a sling, stone stroke, nocent *Goliab*; and *2 Sam. 7.* Thus in a hot battaile was innocent *Uriab* smitten also, *2 Sam. 31.3.* Disobedient *Saul* was shot, and sayes the Text, *fore wounded*; and so was godly and obedient *Ionathan* in the same field on the same day, againe *2 Chron. 18.33.* A certaine man drew a Bow at a venture, and smote wicked *Ahab* betwene the joynts of the armes, so that hee called to his Chariot man, *hast me away for I am fore wounded.* And you see here that the like occurrence betides this most godly Prince *Iosiah*. So that as it is said concerning the Duke of *Alua's* sword, that it knew no difference betwixt the Protestant or Papist, so may I say of the adventurous shots and stroakes of Warre, it makes no difference twixt the godly man and the sinner.

Justly therefore are those to bee judged, who will take upon them to judge men by these events; for certainly there is no rule more uncertaine, See *Eccles. 9.2.* *All things come alike to all* (viz. all outward things) *there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked, to the good and cleane and unto the uncleane, to him that sweares, and to him that feares an oath,* in *Luke 13. 2, 3.* Our Saviour reasons this case with certaine who conceived that they were more righteous than others, because that they escaped the hands of bloud shedding *Pilate*; Others because they escaped the fall of the Tower of *Siloe* which slew eightene persons, but our Saviour tells them *Nay*, but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish; It is true sometimes God in judgment to destroy wicked men, sends outward evils, sometimes in the field, sometimes in their families, sometimes in their beds, sometime in battell

battell as he did *Abner*, and *Ahab*, and *Absolem*, and *Shebah*, with many of the rebellious and provoking among the people of *Israel* of old, and in Histories as he did *Olimpius* the *Arrian* Heretike Anno 510. and as hee did *Iulian* the Apostate, who was slaine with an Arrow having intended upon his returne from *Persia* to have slaine all the Christians, to root out the name of the *Galileans*: and as he did the wicked Emperour *Dioclesian* of whom it is reported, that hee was strooke with madnesse, and as he did that wicked late persecuring *Gardiner*, who was suddenly taken and destroyed by a strange strong burning Feaver. Notwithstanding to conclude, that all who have suffered these or the like outward evils, are greater sinners then others, because they suffered such things, is no divinity.

The grounds of the points are two.

1. Ground.

The first is taken from the cruell disposition of the wicked, it is certain the wicked hate the just and their mercies towards them are cruell as wee may see in *Ahab* and *Amaziah*, and *Iezabel* and *Pashur* and *Saul*, and in the Primitive and later persecutors, as *Domitian*, *Dioclesian*, *Valentinian*, *Leo*, *Garner*, *Gardiner* and others \* and that which wee now know by woefull experience of this bitter and hasty Nation, who *Caldean* like \* have not onely marched through the breadth of our Land, and possessed the dwelling places which are theirs, but have most despitefully reproached our Nation, and most holy profession, branding both with as foule opprobrious obloquies as could be devised, either against *Jewes* or *Mahumetans*, neither have the rested herein, but like so many evening Wolves, have torne in peeces poore innocent

\* Heb. 11.

\* Hab. 1.6.



babes, stripped as well Aged as others in the coldest season both men and women starke naked, and now (wee heare) as in the *Persian* massacre under that cruell Duke of *Guisé*; he cut off all, yea as in the *Sicilian* slaughter of the *French*, rip up the bellies of our Protestant women: Besides the more holy (from the beginning of the rebellion, when their mindes were best disposed) the more holy any man, any Minister had been, the worse it fared with him, such have been sure to bee stigmatized, to bee sore wounded, to bee flaine or hanged; So that if in an Army they could discover such a one, a Puritan as they terme such, surely they would give charge as the King of *Syria* in another case, neither fight with small or great, but against him.

Ground 2.

1 Kings. 19.  
Dan. 6. 22.  
Dan. 3. 25.

The second ground is taken from Gods permission. God is able to guide the instruments of Warre as he pleaseth, either with *Jonathán* to shoot beyond, or on either side his gifts: as he was able to keepe *Elijah* from the fury of *Ahab* and his wicked Wife; *Daniel* from the fury of the Lions, the three Children from the fury of the fire, as hee did *Jehosaphat* and *David* who were frequent in hot services, yet were kept from the strokes: and yet the Lord in wisdom findes cause sometimes to permit the righteous to be smitten, sore wounded, and fall in the battaile as well as the unrighteous sinner.

Causes. 1.

Neither yet may we conceive that this is for evill, but first sometimes to prevent evill, *Isa. 57. 1.* The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart, and mercifull men are taken away none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evill to come, and for this cause it is plain that God took away this godly Prince in the Text thus suddenly, 2 King. 22. 20.

When

When God hath had a purpose to bring a lingding heaue calamity upon a Land, it hath been usuall with him to call and cull out to himselte such as are his deerely beloved, as *Lot to Zoar*, these with himselte; safe and free from the discomfort thereof. Even as a carefull mother who seeing her Children in the way, when she beholds a company of wild Horses or beasts comming, she presently whips up the Child into her armes and takes him home, or as the Hen seeing the ravenous Kite hovering in the ayre over her, shee clocks & gathers her *chickings* under her wing, even so when as the Lord sees a hovering judgement over a Land like a flying fiery Scroule, hee gathers some of his choyce servants unto himselte, that hee may preserve them from the evill thereof. It was a passage which this worthy Colonell fastned for his own stay and comfort in the day of his departure in my hearing, that he did conceive that this might be a cause of this Gods dealing with him, expressing his feares of some approaching evill to the Church of God: I pray God that according to his feares it fall not out unto us.

Secondly, God may have a minde in his so doing to bring them the more suddenly to Heaven, one reports it for a saying of *Bradford* the most blessed Martyr, if there being any going on Horse-backe to Heaven it is by Martyrdom, for this sends them away in an instant, as fast as a raging fire or the like can haste them, had the Gunpowder plot taken, had *Faux* once given fire, how soone had his then Majesty with thousands more of Gods most holy servants before the glance of an eye or motion of a thought beene in Paradise, and certainly with the like celerity, are all

babes, stripped as well Aged as others in the coldest season both men and women starke naked, and now (wee heare) as in the *Parſian* maſſacre under that cruell Duke of *Guiſe*, he cut off all, yea as in the *Sicilian* ſlaughter of the *French*, rip up the bellies of our Proteſtant women: Beſides the more holy (from the beginning of the rebellion, when their mindes were beſt diſpoſed) the more holy any man, any Miniſter had been, the worſe it fared with him, ſuch have been ſure to bee ſigmatized, to bee ſore wounded, to bee ſlaine or hanged; So that if in an Army they could diſcover ſuch a one, a Puritan as they terme ſuch, ſurely they would give charge as the King of *Syria* in another caſe, neither fight with ſmall or great, but

Ground

IRREGULAR

1 King  
Dan. 6.  
Dan. 3

PAGINATION

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When



Gen. 19.

When God hath had a purpose to bring a lingering heave calamity upon a Land, it hath been usuall with him to call and cull out to himselfe such as are his deerely beloved, as Lot to Zoar, these with himselfe, safe and free from the discomfort thereof. Even as a carefull mother who seeing her Children in the way, when she beholds a company of wild Horses or beasts comming, she presently whips up the Child into her armes and takes him home, or as the Hen seeing the ravenous Kite hovering in the ayre over her, shee clocks & gathers her *chickings* under her wing, even so when as the Lord sees a hovering judgement over a Land like a flying fiery Scroule, hee gathers some of his choyce servants unto himselfe, that hee may preserve them from the evill thereof. It was a passage which this worthy Colonell fastned for his own stay and comfort in the day of his departure in my hearing, that he did conceive that this might be a cause of this Gods dealing with him, expressing his feares of some approaching evill to the Church of God: I pray God that according to his feares it fall not out unto us.

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those of his Saints hastened unto the Lord, who with *Iosiah* and this sweet holy Worthy are taken away with a stroke of an Arrow, or any other instruments of Warre before they can returne to their Chambers their soules are in heaven.

\*Dying in the  
Field we stile  
a dying in the  
bed of ho-  
nour.

1sa. 63. 1. 2.

Thirdly, because that God hath a mind to honour such his Saints in their death before men.\* For indeed next to martyrdom no wounds so honourable, no death so glorious, nay no health or life so honourable, when as they are wounded in the Lords battaile, when as they dye in Gods cause, have they not in this that surpassing glory to be made like unto *Christ Iesus*, who went hence according to the prophecie, with his garments and sacred body dyed in his owne precious warme hearts blood. We reade of a sweet Primitive Martyr, that whereas the persecutors had cut *orifices* diverse wounds in his sides, hee even smiled saying, now have I so many more mouthes, meaning his wounds, to praise the Lord for whom I suffer these things: Nay it is reported of an holy Emperesse, who with her hands dressed the wounds of the persecuted Saints: Of *Constantine* who kissed the eye of *Paphnutius* put out by the *Arrians*, some Souldiers affect glorious dies in apparell, but give mee a Souldier whose garments have been dyed in blood, for therein is the best of outward glory, excellent is that brave resolution of *Paul*, *God forbid that I should glory in any thing, save in the Crosse of Christ Iesus*, *Gala. 6. 14.* where by Crosse is not meant *Constantines* or the Papists fond materiall Crosse, one of their dumbe Idols, but the sufferings, the stripes, which hee underwent for the profession of his faith towards the Crosse: *Iesus*, See an example of this, in *Acts 5. 40.*

41. of *Peter* and the other Apostles, who when they were imprisoned and beaten, they went from the Councell rejoycing that they were counted worthy to suffer for Christs name. *Pauls* chaine was *Pauls* glory, and *Peters* Crosse, was *Peters* Crowne.

This uncertainty of the occurrences of War doth certainly afright multitudes of way-ward spirits among us, who thinke it death to goe into the field to put their heads out at a Castle, but to such I say, sith God hath made you men, quit your selves like men, for shame feare not to bee made honourable: besides consider how Christ was smitten wounded and slaine for thy sake, why then will you feare to suffer the hazard of wound or of life for his sake.

Lastly, this should worke every Colonell, Officer and Souldier of an Army to a holy care to prepare themselves for every event before-hand, and to make their peace with God on their knees in their Chambers before they go into the field. Thus did those two renowned Emperours, *Constantine* and *Theodosius*; for this end consider what you have heard, godly *Iosiah* was shot and fell in the field, as well as unrighteous *Ahab*, and if this happen to a *Iosiah*, to the greene Tree what cause have the wicked especially to feare, and as they are making ready the weapons of Warre, so to make ready their soules and spirits for the Lord that made them. It is a fond conceipt, that every one that dyes in the field shall goe to Heaven, then *Goliath* had gone to Heaven, then *Shebah* and *Abshon*, those two great Rebels had gone to Heaven, then *Richard* the third that usurping murderous Tyrant had gone to Heaven, then these impious rebels, some whereof are already fallen, and the rest whom I doubt not but  
God

God will give us for a prey according to the tenure of their base romish Bulls should goe to Heav en: Surely for those that die in the Lords quarrell, God forbid that I should not be charitable in my secret thoughts of such, yet let me tell you, that hee that goes to Heaven, *he must die in the Lord, as well as for the Lord, Rev. 14. 13. Rom. 8. 1.*

Man layes Salomon knowes not his own time though he bee in his parlour, though in his bed, though at his table feeding, though in the fields walking, though in Taverne revelling; how many presidents might I name you in sacred stories, in humane histories, and some in our experience who have suddenly beene taken away in all places and conditions? So that in all places, in all conditions, in all actions, at all times, it is a good and meet thing that all persons make ready, with their loynes girt, with their lights burning, to bee like men who wait for their Lord; *Watch ye therefore,* sayes CHRIST, *for ye know not when the Master of the house commeth, at even, at midnight, or at the Cocke crowing, or in the morning, least comming suddenly, he find you sleeping, and what I say unto you meaning his Disciples, I say unto all watch.* But especially give mee leave to apply my selfe to you who are in the service of Warre, a service honourable, and honoured, yet perillous above all wayes of service, because for you our enemies daily lay ambushments, watch night and day in every opportune place, who are often whole dayes and nights, or may bee charged with instruments ready prepared to take away your lives, you I say of all men should speedily make ready, so that though you bee with *Iosiah* sore wounded in body, in the day of battel, you may have the sweet comforts, the sweet comforts

Luk. 12. 35.  
36.

Mark. 13. 35  
36.

forts of a good Conscience in your soules, in a word though killed, you may gloriously live in your spirits *Ecclef. n.* with that God, who made you, and his Sonne Christ Jesus, *who gave his owne blood a ranfome for you.* And this of this first point.

I proceed now from *Iofiah's* death to the peoples lamentation for him.

*And all Iudah and Ierusalem mourned for Iofiah.*

This mourning for this godly Saint is further enlarged, in *Zach. 12. 11.* *In that day there shall bee a great mourning in Ierusalem as the mourning of Hadadrimon in the Valley of Megiddon, and the land shall mourne, &c.*

The point arising hence is,

*That when God takes away an eminent Saint, set in place of extraordinary service, that then is surely great cause of great lamentation.*

When *Abner* that great Generall of the field was *slaine* by *Ioab*, it is storied that *David* cursed *Ioab*, and he and his people mourned greatly for *Abner*, and sayes the Text, *the King lift up his voyce and wept at the grave of Abner, and all the people wept, and the King lamented over Abner, &c.* Again behold what excessive mourning was by him, and his people at the tydings of the death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, but especially for righteous *Jonathan*, Then *David* tooke hold of his clothes, and rent them; and likewise all the men that were with him, they mourned and wept and fasted untill even for *Saul*, *and Jonathan* and for the people of the Lord, and for the house of *Israel*, because they were fallen by the sword, after hee applies himselfe to the women most pathetically, and elegantly: *Tee daughters of Israel weepe over Saul*

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*who cloathed you in Scarlet with other delights, who put on ornaments of gold upon your apparell. How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battell, O Jonathan thou wast slaine in thy high places, I am distressed for thee my brother Jonathan, &c. Moreover I dare adventure to go further, that to be insensible of an affliction, that besides a Ioseph a Saint, a Land of Gods people, is a provoking sinne as is plaine, Amos 6. 1, 2, 4, 5. Much more when the Lord doth not only wound but take away a Ioseph a Iosiah a religious Statesman, a godly Officer, as he hath done from us this day.*

1. Because as you have heard it is a preface of some neere approaching evill to the land from whence they are taken.

2. Because this begets courage and gives cause of triumph to the adversaries, a thing to be lamented, oh how did the Papists joy, and rejoyce at the death of that sweet *Iosiah Edward* the sixth, and of his unparalleled godly Sister *Queene Elizabeth*, and without question which pierces my heart to thinke on the like rejoycing is now in the hearts of our base and cruell enemies in this Kingdome upon the unhappie tydings of the fall of this renowned valiant. This was one maine cause of *Dauids* great mournings for the losse of the forenamed *Saul* and *Jonathan*, 2 Sam. 1. 19, 20, 21. *The beauty of Israel is fallen slaine, how are the mighty fallen? Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Ascalon, Why? Least the daughters of the Philistines rejoyce, least the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph,* and for this cause sayes our onn our Text it was that *Iosiah's* servants after he was wounded took him out of his owne Chariot where he was, and put him into another Chariot, to cover and conceale his death from



from the enemy least they should have then triumphed in the Campe.

Thirdly, consider that howsoever it is in many respects a blessing to the Saints thus taken from us, yet is it in it selfe a grievous judgement to the people left where they had abode see the Prophets bewaylings of this evill and how hee ranks it with one of Gods fore judgments, *Isa. 3. 1, 2, 3. For behold the Lord, the Lord of Hosts will take from Ierusalem the stay and staffe, the whole stay of bread, & the whole stay of water, the mighty man (marke) the man of War, the Iudge and the Prophet, and the prudent, and the Ancient, and the Captaine of fiftie, and the honourable man, and the Councillor;* So that not improperly may the soules of such cry, and apply to the relict land, that of our blessed Saviour; *Weep not for me but weep for your selves,* for as their gaine is unutterable so in their death, the Kingdomes losse unconceivable. I remember what a most solid holy Divine \* said of the death of a worthy Judge of *Eng-land*, that the redemption of the life of such a one in such times as we live in, for the good of such a Country had beene worth a Kings ransome, neither in my opinion doe I conceive, that the life of this deceased Gentleman in such a time and place as this is to be prized at a lower rate, all the bloud in the bodies of a province of Rebels is not worth the bloud that ran in his Vaines.

\* M. Bolton  
in his Funeral  
notes on Iudg  
Nicols.

The ground of this conclusion is in that the losse of such men doe greatly weaken the State of a Realme, especially when a Realme is in such a broken condition, and stands in such need of mighty men, of men of Warre and prudent Captaines and honourable Councillors, and most of all of godly survivors, as ours doth this day.



It is a great losse to lose an *Abner*, a *Isab*, a valiant Captaine, such as were our old English *Warwick*, *Talbot*, and *Bedford*, who were the terrour of the *French*, such as *Monnsjoy*, *Essex*, and *Chichester* in *Ireland*, but there is no losse like the losse of such as these, being godly religious.

Ios. 7.

As for a swearing deboyft Souldier, he may bring a curse upon the Camp, he may lose the day in the field though he fight couragiously; wee have an example of this in *Achan*, it is like he neither wanted skill nor will, nor courage enough to help the Lords host, but by the wickednes he committed in taking the unlawfull pillage, the wedge of Gold, and the Babilonish garments, he so provoked God, that he permitted the men of *Ai* to smite *Israels* great Host, them under brave *Ioshuah*, that before prosperous Generall. In *Tertullians* time the Christian Saints were counted of the wicked as now with us, *hostes publici*, the enemies of the common Wealth, so *Ahab* accounted of *Elijah* the troubler of *Israel*, but the truth is, it is *Ahab* and such as he, wicked men who cause trouble, and all evill that betides a State, being indeed as so many secret hornets and Caterpillars to a Common-wealth, or as so many vipers who eate into the bowels of their mother the Church.

a King. 2.

As for the godly howsoever deem'd by the wicked they are the best friends that they have in the world, they are the strength of a Land, as it is said of *Elijah*, they are the Chariots and horse-men of *Israel*, that is their very strength of War, who prevaile more, though at home *precando*, then the Souldiers can *pugnando*. Take away sayes famous *Jewell* the bonds the hopes of the vessell and all will fall asunder, so if God take away these

these who are our bonds, our hopes, our Church, our Common-weale cannot hold together, See Isa. i. *Except Lord had left us a seed, we had been as Sodom,* That is except the Lord had continued some seed of righteous men, we had been destroyed before this day. An example of this we have in *Genesis 19.* When as the Lord was about to destroy *Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim,* and *Zegor,* had there been in those five Cities but 50, 45, 40, 30, 20. Yea ten righteous persons the Lord would not have destroyed them: for why sayes the Text, for tens sake; moreover when as the Lord was bringing fire on them because there was not ten righteous persons found there, onely *Lot* his Wife and his two daughters, though a family abused, and abused by the ungodly Citizens, yet the Lord out of his precious esteeme and care of them, hee provides a *Zoar* a safe place for *Lot* and them, and commands them to make hast thither, Why? because saies the Lord, I cannot doe any thing, marke, *I cannot doe any thing, untill you be come thither, Gen. 20. 22.*

These things being considered, let any reasonable man tell me when as a godly *Iosiah* or any other godly and Religious Commander or any righteous person whatsoever is taken away, especially I say where there is such breaches and perills, whether that the people of that Land, nay all the people thereof with *Judah* and *Ierusalem* have not cause to mourne and lament greatly.

It was *Zedekiabs* blessing of honour to be lamented of the people, *Jer. 34. 5.* And contrary it is a judgment for an eminent person to die, and the people not to lament, as *Jer. 16. 4, 5, 6.* Wherefore it is an evill done to the party deceased, but indeed the greatest evill is done unto God and to our selves.

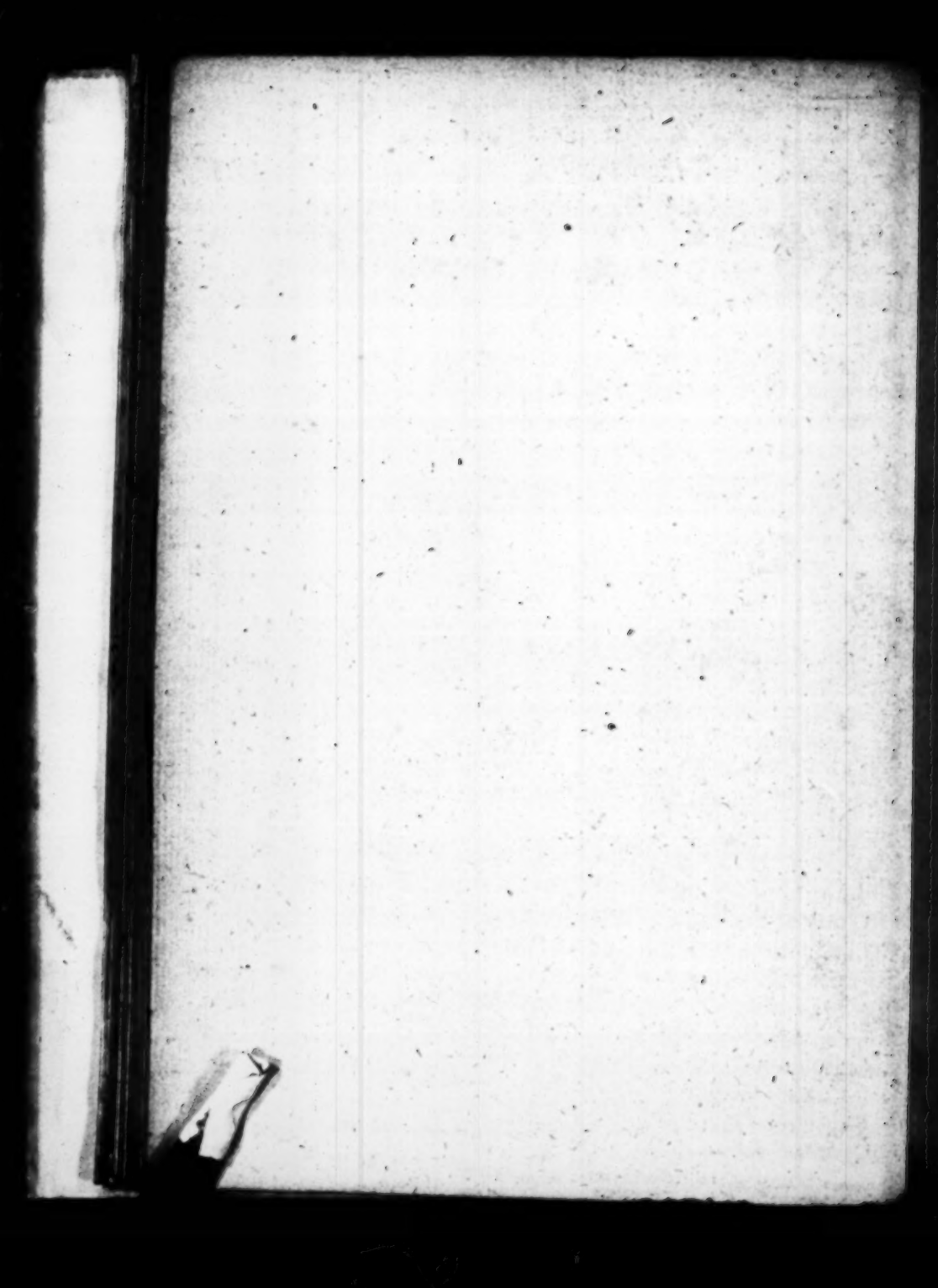
For

Sir Laurence  
Carij. and  
Captaine  
Rorchford.

For our particulars, I pray God it bee not a present sin in this our present evill time, we had two religious valourous brave Officers sore wounded to death of late before this Honourable Colonell. I might say they were were too slightly lamented, howsoever consider what you have heard this day among other things that the neglect thereof is a most grievous sin, as a signe of a most wicked sensuall obdurate heart. My bel: we have other sins as yet reigning and very raging among us want of humiliation on fast dayes, excessive drunkenesse abundance of oathes, notwithstanding all the deficits that God hath brought upon us, God of heaven withstand that wee persist no further therein, but that wee may forsake our wicked wayes, and returne unto the Lord who though hēe hath stricken us, then wil he surely heale us, and make the light of his countenance againe to breake forth upon us in this land of darknesse. But passing many other things which the very short time of my meditation constraines me unto Let mee beseech you right Honourable and the rest of Gods people here present to apply your hearts to a fable sensiblenesse of this great evill w<sup>ch</sup> the Lord hath done unto us, let it never be said that such a religious affable honourable worthy, who came over and offered himselfe willingly to help us, and by Gods blessing did, having by Gods permission in our cause fallen; I say, let it never be said that such a great man should fall in this our Israel, and the people did not lament, least the Lord, great Iehovah be angry and in his displeasure take away yet more of those brave valiants which he raised up for us, to the weakening of our armies, and the ruine of our hopes. And thus have I ended a few houres meditation of that which may well be many yeares Lamentation.

FINIS.

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2

# THE HISTORIE OF EPISCOPACIE.

By Theophilus Churchman. Pet: Heylin

HEBR. 13. 17.

Obeey them that have rule over you, and submit your selves; for they watch for your soules, as they that must give account, that they may doe it with joy, and not with griefe: for that is unprofitable for you.

CYPRIAN. Epist. LXIX.

*Inde Schismata & Hæreses oborta sunt & oriuntur, dum EPISCO-  
PVS qui unus est, & Ecclesiæ præst, superba quorundam præ-  
sumptione contemnitur; & homo dignatione Dei honoratus, in-  
dignus hominibus iudicatur.*



LONDON,

Printed for *Abel Roper*, and are to be sold at his shop at  
the signe of the blacke spread Eagle neere the  
Inner Temple gate in Fleet-street.

1642.







TO THE  
**MOST REVEREND**  
AND RIGHT REVEREND FA-

*THERS IN GOD, THE LL. ARCHBI-*

*SHOPS and BISHOPS, and to the Re-*  
verend and Right Worshipfull the *Deanes,*

*Archdeacons, and others of the Clergie*

*of the truly Catholike and Aposto-*

*like Church of England, as-*

*sembled in their severall*

*Convocations,*

**THEOPHILVS CHVRCHMAN,**

The meanest of the sons of that Blessed Mother,

Dedicates and submits these his poore and unwor-

thy labours : humbly beseeching that by their

*Approbation and Authoritie* they may be

recommended to the pub-


like view.







A PREFACE TO  
The *Christian Reader*, shewing the oc-  
casion of writing this ensuing *Historie*,  
and the manner of the *Authors*  
proceeding in it.

I.  T is a saying of the wi-  
sest man that ever was,  
*faciendi plures libros nullus*  
*est finis*, that there is no  
end of making many books.  
And he that said it was  
a writer also, the grea-  
test Writer of his time,  
and so had some experience in that kind  
himselfe. For besides those bookes of his  
in holy *Scripture*, which make up no small  
part of the *Hagiographa*, he spake of trees from  
the Cedar tree which is in Libanon, even unto the  
Hissop which springeth out of the wall: he spake al-  
so of beasts, and of fowle, and of creeping things,  
and of fishes. And if the multiplying of  
books was growne so endlesse in those early  
dayes, before *Philosophie* was full of subtilties,  
and *Divinitie* became perplext with *Contra-*  
*verses*; What censure thinke we had he pas-

*Eccles. 12. 12.*

*1 King. 4. 33.*

## The Preface.

sed on these restless times, (if either he had lived till now, or forleene them then :) Wherein, as *unda undam pellis*, one wave thrusts another forwards, so doth one Booke beget another, and that a fruitful progenie of *Answers and Replies*, even *ad infinitum*? For prooffe whereof, were there no other instances to be found besides, as there are too many, the very question of *Church-government* so often moved, so learnedly resolved, and yet continually revived and agitated, would serve sufficiently. A question first raised in this Church of *England* (for what have I to doe with those *without*) by *Carrwright*, *Travers*, and their followers, who like *Dionysius* in *S. Johns* Epistle, *loving so have preeminence* in the Church of God, *prayed* against the Bishops *with malicious words*: perhaps because they were the *Successors* of those *Apostles*, whom *Dionysius* baited and reviled in the last *Surviver*. But their Disciples *not content herewith*, *neither themselves receive them* with such honour as they ought to doe, *but forbid them that would*; and for as much as in them is, *cast them out of the Church*, as an intolerable *burden* not imposed by *CHRIST*, and therefore not consistent with our *Christian libertie*.

2. This as it then did put the Church to a necessitie of vindicating and asserting that forme of *government*, which had beene recommended

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commended to her with the *Faith* it selfe : so that necessitie continuing stil, or rather being againe obtruded on her by unquiet spirits, she is inforced to pursue her former courses, in labouring to give *satisfaction* to a kinde of men, who are resolved, I feare, not to be *satisfied*. A labour which might well be spared at this present time, if they who bring no *new* supply of *Arguments* to make good their cause, would rest content with such *Old answers*, as have beene given already to their *Predecessours*. For did men looke into this businesse with a diligent and carefull eye, it might bee easily discerned, that there hath beene no *new objection* made in those late discourses which have beene writ upon this Subject, but what are either *Answered* or *prevented* in the learned workes of B. *Bilson*, B. *Downham*, and other worthies of this Church, now in blisse with God. But being it is the disposition of some men, not to let any thing remaine in peace, though never so well grounded, so securely settled, as long as by *new* furbushing their rusty Armour, they can pretend some *new abilities*, and therewithall *new hopes* to effect their purpose : it cannot but concerne the *Church*, and the friends thereof, to have recourse unto her publike *Magazines*, and thence to borrow such provision both of *Armes* and *weapons*, as are therein laid up and treasured, for her just defence.



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defence. *Vt jugulent homines*, is a friendly watch-word, a preserving *Caveat*, and as fitly placed in the title of a booke, writ by that worthy Baronet, Sir *Tho. Aston*.

'Tis true indeed, as long as the *assault* was onely made by *scurrilous* and unlearned *libels*, or *emptie* and unworthy *Pamphlets*, there was no better *Answer* to bee given then *contempt* and *silence*; as being neither *considerable* for the *Authors*, nor *formidable* for the *dangers* which might thence ensue. Nay, they occasioned by that course, as the cause was handled, no small advantage to the *Church*: a learned and religious Gentleman collecting out of all their scattered Papers, a full survey of the *inconveniencies* of the *Presbyterian Discipline*, and the *inconsistencie* thereof with the *Constitution* of this *State*: adding therto, to the detection of their shame, and his owne great honour, out of *Authenticall* and true records, the originall *institution*, *succession*, and *jurisdiction* of the *antient* and *venerable Order* of *Bishops*. This the best course that could bee taken possibly to detect their follies. They which went other wayes to worke, and undertooke to answer them upon *equal* termes, parted for ought I can see on the same termes also, complying with them in some points of no small importance, out of a filly hope to obtaine the rest: and thereby letting them perceive how much was to bee got by confident

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confident and continuall clamour. For whether out of a conceit, that to bestow a dash upon the *Prelacie*, would make the businesse taste the better; or that they held it an high point of Policie not to goe so farre, but that they might retire with *safetie* in the change of times: some of these *Answerers* have laid as deepe a *Calummie* upon the *Clergie*, for \* *hunting after secular employments*, for having greater care of *rites and ceremonies*, as of *piety and godlinesse*, and ordering matters of the Church, not by *rule and Canon*, but in an arbitrary way, as any of the *Pamphleters* either old or new. As if there were no better way to justifie the *government* of *Bishops*, then by traducing of their persons, nor any safer meanes to bee devised for *vindicating* the Church, then by *calumniating* the *Clergie*.

3. But these were onely *Tentsamenta bellorum civilium*, certaine preparatorie skirmishes and *velitations*, to keepe men awake. The maine *Batallio* was not yet drawne up. And when it was drawne up and ready, it was conducted with great artifice, by men of wit and understanding, in a learned way: Who as they had it in designe to cut down \* *Liturgie* and *Episcopacie* at one blow together, so as it seemes they made no question of bearing down \* *Cathedrals* also, and making them a *gratefull oblation* unto spoyle and ruine. Never was learning so employed, to cry  
a downe

\* Modest Ad-  
vertis. p. 19.

\* *Smeltym.* An-  
swer to the  
humble Re-  
monst.

\* *Vindic.* of the  
Answ. Sect 13.

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down the incouragement and reward of learning. And now or never was the time for those that had a care of the *Churches* safetie to put themselves into a posture for defence, and be provided for the *Bataill*. In which if few appeared at first on the *Churches* side, it was not that they durst not give the onset, but that they were reserved for *Succours*. For whilest the *humbly Reverend Remonstrant* was pleased to vindicate aswell his owne as the *Churches* honour, there was small cause, or rather none, that other men should interpose themselves at all, or robbe him of the glory of a sole encounter. *Parq; novum fortuna videt concurrere, bellum, atq; virum.* But when that Reverend Pen grew wearied not with the strength or number of his Adversaries, but their importunitie, who were resolved to have the last words, \* as himselfe observeth; and that he hath beene pleased to give way to others, to shew their duty and affection in so just a cause: I then conceived it might not be unfit to bethinke my selfe what further course might be pursued for the *Churches* peace. And though I knew full well that a good cause is never more easily betrayed, then by a weake and slight defence: yet when I saw that none of those \* *more able defendants* to whom he seemed to recommend the cause had appeared therein, I was the more encouraged in my resolution of offering my

\* Answ.to the  
Vindic. p.102.

\* *Id* *ibid*

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my poore endeavours to the *publike* service. And so thou hast at last, good *Christian Reader*, the very reason, why one of my *obscuritie* and *meane condition*, hath *undertooke* a businesse of such *waight* and *moment*; as also why it was so late before I durst adventure on the *undertaking*.

4. For my proceeding in this matter, that must next be knowne. And that I have disposed of in another *Method*, then what hath formerly beene followed. Not in the way of *Argument*, or of *Polemicall discourse*, much lesse in answer unto those with whom the *Reverend Remonstrants* had to doe; (I found no likelihood of any end in such disputations) but in the way of an *historicall narration*, as in point of *fact*; in which the *Affirmative* being made good by sufficient evidence, it will bee very difficult, if not impossible, to prove the *negative*. And for the better making good of the *Affirmative*, I have called in the *Antient* writers, the *holy Fathers* of the *Church*, to testifie unto the truth of what here is said, either as writing on those texts of *Scripture*, in which the *institution* and *authoritie* of *Bishops* is most cleerely evidenced; or speaking of the *condition* of the *Church* in their severall times, in the *administration* and *government* whereof they had most of them some especiall interestte. Their testimonies and authorities I have fully pondered, and alledged as fully

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fully; not misreporting any of them in their words or meaning, according to the best of my understanding: as knowing well, and having seene experience of it, that such *false shifis*, are like *hot waters*, which howsoever they may serve for a present *pang*, doe in the end destroy the stomach. And for these holy and renowned Authors thus by mee produced, I desire no more, but that we yeeld as much *authoritie* unto them in *expounding Scripture*, as we would doe to any of the moderne Writers on the like occasion: and that we would not give lesse credit to their *Affirmations*, speaking of things that hapned in their owne times, and were within the compassse of their observation, then wee would doe to any honest Countrey *Yeoman*, speaking his knowledge at the *Barre*, between man & man. And finally that in relating such occurrences of holy *Church*, as hapned in the times before them, we thinke them worthy of as much beliefe, as we would give to *Livie*, *Tacitus*, or *Suetonius*, reporting the affaires of the State of *Rome*, from the traditions and discourses of the former times. This is the least wee can afford them. And if I can obtain but this, I doubt not but it will appeare most evidently to an indifferent and impartial *Reader*, first that our Lord & Saviour *JESUS CHRIST*, laid the foundation of his *Church* in an *impartialitie* of *Ministers*, & that according unto his Ex-  
ample



## The Preface.

ample the holy Apostles did the like, ordaining the three severall orders and degrees, of *Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons*, in the holy *Ministrie*: Next that the government of *Bishops* being founded thus, was propagated over all the world, with the faith it selfe, there being no *Nation* which received the one without the other: and finally that in matter of *authoritie* and *jurisdiction*, the *Bishops* of the *Primitive* and *purest* times had rather more then lesse, then what now they have.

5. This is the summe of my designe, and this I hope will be made good in all particulars. In prosecution of the which my purpose was to have pursued this *storie* until the later times of *S. Austins* life, when as the *Church* was at her height for *peace & puritie*. But finding that the times from *Constantine* til then, were quick and active, and likely to administer more store of matter then could be ordered and concocted in so short a time, as I had limited unto my selfe for dispatch hereof: I rather chose to publish what I had already finished, (in hope it might conduce to the publike good) then to detain it from the *Presse*, till I had fully perfected the whole according to my first intention. Hereafter, if I find my labours in this Peece accepted, and that I am thereby encouraged to performe the rest, I shall not be deficient in it, either unto the Church or my owne discharge. This that is done, as I have done it with all faith and

## The Preface.

candour, and layed it with like dutie and affection at the *Churches* feet: so with respective care and Reverence doe I submit it to the judgement of the *Christian Reader*, for whose instruction in the point it was chiefly studied. And I shall heartily beseech all those who shall please to reade it, that if they meet with any thing therein, which either is lesse *fitly spoken*, or not *cleerely evidenced*, they would give me notice of it in such a *charitable* and a *Christian* way, as I may bee the *better* for it, and they not the *worse*. Which favour if they please to doe me, they shall bee welcome to me, as an *Angel of God*, sent to conduct me from the lanes of *error* into the *open wayes of truth*. And doing these *Christian* Offices unto one another, wee shall by Gods good leave and blessing, not onely hold *the bond* of externall peace, but also in due time be made partakers of *the Spirit of unitie*. Which blessing that the *Lord* would graciously bestow on his afflicted and distracted *Church*, is no small part of our *devotions* in the *publike Liturgie*: where we are taught to pray unto Almighty God, that hee would please *continually* to inspire his *universall Church* with the spirit of truth, unitie and concord, and grant that all they which doe confesse his holy Name, may agree also in the truth of his holy word, and live in unitie and godly love. Unto which prayer, hee hath but little of a *Christian* which doth not heartily say, *Amen*.

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THE  
HISTORIE  
OF  
EPISCOPACIE.

THE FIRST PART.

FROM THE FIRST  
INSTITUTION OF

It by our Lord and Saviour

IESVS CHRIST, untill the death of  
St. JOHN the *Apostle*.

By *Theophilus Churchman*.

CYPRIAN. Epist. LXV.

*Apostolos, idest, EPISCOPOS & Præpositos Dominus elegit;  
Diaconos autem post Ascensum Domini in celos Apostoli sibi  
constituerunt, EPISCOPATVS sui & Ecclesie Mini-  
stros.*

LONDON,

Printed for *Abel Roper*, and are to be sold at his shop at  
the signe of the blacke spread Eagle neere the  
Inner Temple gate in Fleet-street.

1642.





THE  
HISTORIE  
OF  
EPISCOPACIE.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

*The Christian Church first founded  
by our Lord and Saviour, in an  
Imparity of Ministers.*

*I. The severall Offices of Christ our Savi-  
our in the administration of his Church.*

*II. The aggregation of Disciples to him.*

*III. The calling of the Apostles, and why  
twelve in number.*

*IV. Of the Name and Office of an Apostle.*

*V. What things were specially required unto  
the making of an Apostle.*

B

VI. All

VI. *All the Apostles equall amongst themselves.*

VII. *The calling and appointing of the Seventy Disciples.*

VIII. *A reconciliation of some different opinions about the number.*

IX. *The twelve Apostles superiour to the seventy by our Saviours ordinance.*

X. *What kind of superiority it was that Christ prohibited his Apostles.*

XI. *The severall powers and preheminences, given to the Apostles by our Saviour Christ.*

XII. *That the Apostles were made Bishops by our Lord and Saviour, avowed by the ancient Fathers.*

XIII. *And by the Text of holy Scripture.*

I.



F all the Types in holy Scripture, I find not any that did so fully represent the nature of our Saviours Kingdome, as those of David, Moses, and Melchizedech. (a) David a

Shepherd, and a King Moses a Legislator, and a Prince; (b) Melchizedech both King of Salem, and a Priest also of the living God, as that Text hath stiled him. Each of these was a type of our Saviour Christ, according

(a) Psal. 78. 71.  
72.

(b) Gen. 14. 18.



ding to his Regall office; hee being like *Melchisedech*, a King of Peace and Righteousnesse; leading his people, as did *Moses*, out of the darknesse and Idolatries of *Egypt*, to the land of *Canaan*: and conquering like *David* (e) all those enemies which before held them in subjection. This office, as it is supreme, so it is perpetuall. That God who tels us in (f) the *Psalmes*, that he had set his King on *Zion*, on his holy mountaine: hath also told us by his Angell, (g) that he should reigne over the house of *Jacob* for ever, and of his Kingdome there should be no end. But if wee looke upon him in his *Sacerdottall* and *Pastorall* offices: if we behold him as a *Lawgiver* to his Church and people: we find him not fore-signified in any one of these, but in all together. (h) A Priest he was after the order of *Melchisedech*, (i) faithfull to him that did appoint him, as also *Moses* was faithfull in all his house; ordering, and disposing of the same, according to his will and pleasure. And as for the discharge of his *Pastorall* or *Propheticall* office, God liketh him to *David*, by his holy Prophet saying, (k) I will set up one Shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant *David*, he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd. Which offices, although subordinate to the Regall power, are perpetuall also. He was not made a Priest for a time

(e) Gen. 7. 2.

(d) Exod.

(e) 2 Sam.

(f) Psal. 2.

(g) Luk. 1. 33.

(h) Heb. 5. 6,

10.

(i) Heb. 3. 2.

(k) Eze. 34. 23.

(l) Heb. 3. 6.

(m) Heb. 9. 26.

(n) Heb. 10. 14.

(o) Heb. 7. 25.

*Estim in Heb.*  
3. 2.(p) Eph. 4. 8.  
11, 12, 13.

or season, but for ever. *Tues Sacerdos in aeternum*: (l) Thou art a Priest for ever, said the Lord unto him. A Priest, who as he once (m) appeared to put away sinne by the sacrifice of himselfe; so by that (n) one offering hath he perfected for ever all them that are sanctified; and sitting downe at the right hand of God, he (o) ever liveth, and maketh intercession for them. Of the same perpetuity also are those other offices of Christ our Saviour, before remembred. Hee had not beene *fidelis sicut Moses*, faithfull as Moses was in all his house: i.e. as *Estim* well expounds it, in *administracione populi sibi credita*, in the well ordering of the charge committed to him, had he not constituted a set forme of government, and given the same unto his Church, as a rule for ever. Nor had he faithfully discharged the part of *David*, had he looked onely to his flock, whiles himselfe was present; and tooke no care for the continuall feeding of the same, after he was returned to his heavenly glories. And therefore, (p) when he ascended up on high he gave gifts to men, and gave some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers; for the perfecting of the Saints, for the worke of the Ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come in the unity of faith, and of the knowledge of the son of God

unto

unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulnesse of Christ.

II.

He gave them then indeed, after his Ascension, when he ascended up on high, because he then did furnish them with those gifts and graces, wherewith they were endued by the Holy Ghost, and thereby fitted for the execution of the trust committed to them by their Lord. For otherwise many of them had beene given already; not onely in the way of choyce, and designation, but of commission and employment. (q) *Ite, & docete omnes Gentes*, had beene said before. It was not long after our Saviours baptisme by John in Jordan, that some Disciples came unto him. That testimony which came downe from God the Father, when *the Heavens were opened*, (r) *and the Spirit of God descended on him like a Dove*, was of it selfe sufficient to procure many followers. The evidence which was given by John the Baptist, added nought to this. And yet that evidence prevailed so farre, that two of his Disciples, when they heard him speake, (s) forsooke their old Master, and went after Jesus. Nor did it satisfie them, that they had found the Christ, and had talked with him, but they impart the same unto others also. Thus Andrew brings in his owne Brother (t) Simon, Philip invites his friend Nathaneel. One tels

(q) Mat. 28. 19.

(r) Mat. 3. 16.

(s) Joh. 1. 37.

(t) Joh. 1. 43, 46.

(u) Joh 1. 31.

(x) Joh 3. 26.

(y) Joh 6. 86.

## III.

another the glad tidings, that they had found him of whom (u) Moses in the Law, and all the Prophets did write: and all of them desire to be his Disciples. Afterward as his fame increased, so his followers multiplied; and every miracle that he wrought to confirme his doctrine, did adde unto the number of his *Profelytes*. So great his fame was, and so great the conflux of all sorts of people, that *Johns* Disciples presently complained, I know not whether with more truth or envie, (x) *Omnes ad eum veniunt*, that all men came unto him, both to heare his preaching, and receive his baptisme. And certainly it was no wonder that it should be so; that all men should resort to him, who was the way; or seeke for him, who was the truth; or follow after him, who was the life. Lord, saith Saint Peter, (y) *to whom shall wee goe? thou hast the words of life eternall.*

The number of his followers being thus increased, he sends them not immediately to preach his *Gospell*. Two yeares he trayned them up in the schoole of piety, where he himselfe was both the Teacher and the lesson, before he ventured them abroad upon that employment; And when hee ventured them abroad, he neither sent them all together, nor with like authority.

(a) Twelve

(a) Twelve he selected from the rest, whom he named Apostles. And he ordained them

(a) Luk. 6. 13.

(b) saith Saint Mark, that they should be with him, and that hee might send them forth to preach: first to be with him, as the constant witnesses of his words and workes, and afterwards to preach and publish what they saw and heard. In which regard, Tertullian calls them not unfitly, (c) Legatos à latere, sent from Christ to teach the nations.

(b) Mark. 3. 14.

Ex quibus (out of his Disciples) duodecim principales lateri suo adlegerat, destinatos nationibus Magistros: as his owne words are.

(c) De Præscript. ad vers. hæret.

The same Tertullian gives a reason, why Christ made choyse of twelve Apostles, neither more nor lesse: viz. (d) because there were twelve fountaines in Elisha, twelve gemmes or pretious stones in the breast-plate of Aaron; and 12. stones taken out of Jordan by the hand of Joshua, and by him put into the Arke of the Testament.

(d) Contra Marcion. l. 4.

And then he addes, *toridem enim Apostoli prætendebantur*, that the like number of Apostles was prefigured. Other conceits there are of the Ancient Fathers about this number: (e) Bede, and (f) Sedulius, resemble them to the 12. signes of the Zodiack: (g) Justin Martyr to the 12. bells in the high Priests garment: Tertullian before named, to the twelve oxen that did uphold the molten sea in the Temple of Solomon.

(e) In Joh. 6.

(f) Sedulius.

(g) Dialog. cum Tryphone.

(b) Læcæsupra citat.

Others

(i) Calvin in  
Harm. Evang.

(k) Mat. 19. 28.

(l) Hieron. in  
locum.

Others have other fancies to the same effect; but whether Christ related unto any of them in this designation, as it is no where to be found, so is it not materiall to the present purpose. More neere unto the point in my opinion, is that of *Calvin*, who thinkes our Saviour in the choise of his *twelve Disciples* related to the *twelve Patriarchs* of the Tribes of *Israel*: to shew that as the *Patriarchs* were the roote and seminarie of the Tribes of *Israel*, so the *Apostles* (i) were to be the Parents, or if you will, the *Patriarchs* of the Church of Christ, *Non ergo frustra Dominus duodecem veluti Patriarchas constituens, Ecclesie renunciationem testatus est.* Which guesse of his, though it come neerer to the matter than the other did; yet it falls short also of the true intention of our Lord and Saviour. For *Christ*, who was best able to assigne the reason of his mind herein, hath told us, that he fitted his *Apostles* according to the number of the Tribes of *Israel*; that his *Apostles* in due time might become their *Judges*. For so himselfe declares it in his holy Gospell; (k) *Verily (saith he) I say unto you, that yee which have followed mee in the regeneration, when the Sunne of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, yee also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel:* (l) i. e. as *Hierome* doth expound it,



it, *Quia credentibus vobis, illi credere noluerunt;* by reason of their obstinacie and unbeliefe, not giving credit to that Gospell the *Apostles* preached. Twelve then our Saviour pleased to choose, whom he named *Apostles*, and they themselves conceived this number not to want its weight: and therefore made it their first care to fill up their number, and surrogate some other in the place of *Judas*. Saint *Peter* very well declared the necessity of it, when he came in with his *Oportet;* (m) *Oportet ergo ex his viris, &c.* Wherefore of these men that have companied with us all the time, that the Lord *Jesus* went in and out amongst us, must one be ordained to be a witnesse with us of his resurrection. So excellently true is that of *Austin*, (n) *Adeo numerus ille sacratuſ est, ut in locum unius qui exciderat, non posset nisi alter nominari.*

(m) *Act. I 21, 22.*

(n) *August. in Psal. 103.*

IV.

(o) *Luk 6 13.*

As for the name, quos & *Apostolos* nominavit, as Saint (p) *Luke* informes us: *Baronius* thinks it was not of our Saviours owne dividing, but by him borrowed of the high Priests of the *Jewish* nation, who had a speciall kind of Ministers, whom they called *Apostles*, (p) imployed by them for the instruction of the *Priests*, the visiting of the severall *Synagogues*, the rectifying of ill manners, and the reforming of those publicke Ministers, who did not live according to the prescript of the Law. Whether that

(p) *Quos etiam ipse legare consueverat ad componendos optimos Sacerdotum mores, ipsas Synagogas inspiciendas, pravorum mores corrigendos, &c. Annal. A. 32. ff. 5.*

(q) Epiphanius  
heres. 30. n. 5.

(r) Quæ hæc op-  
pellatio missio  
interpretatur.  
Tert. de præ-  
script.

(s) In Epist. ad  
Gal. c. 2.

it were so or not, or that the Cardinall be not mistaken in the meaning of the Author whom he citeth; I will not meddle for the present: though I conceive by looking on the place in (q) *Epiphanius*, that the succeeding *Patriarchs* of the *Jewish* nation, did rather take this name from Christs *Apostles*, than he from theirs. But for the word as now we use it, it is meerly *Greeke*, signifying in its naturall and originall sense a (r) *Messenger*, a *Legate*, an *Embassadour*, from whom, to whomsoever sent: after appropriated and applyed by the *Evangelists* to signifie those *twelve*, whom our Saviour chose, and called his *Apostles*, as by way of excellence: yet so that many of those men who saw our Saviour in the flesh, and did preach the *Gospell*, are sometimes honoured with that name. (s) *Quod autem exceptis duodecem quidam vocantur Apostoli, illud in causa est, omnes qui Dominum viderunt, & eum postea prædicarunt, fuisse Apostolos nominatos*: as Saint *Hierome* notes it. By which wee see, that those two things did principally concur unto the making of an *Apostle*, viz. to have beene conversant with our Saviour Christ, and to preach his word: which being most exactly verified in those *twelve Disciples*, whom he selected for that purpose; it was most fit that they should chiefly have the honour of so high

a title. But these, although they were two speciall marks of an Apostle; yet they were not all. Others had seene our Saviour in the flesh, and preached his Gospell, which notwithstanding never durst assume that title: (1) *Ignatius*, who affirms it of himselfe, that he had seene the Lord *Jesus*, doth yet disclaime the power and privilege of an *Apostle*. *ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄποστολος καὶ οὐκ ἐξουσιασμένος*, saith he in his Epistle to the *ROMANS*. So that besides their seeing of our Saviour in the flesh, and preaching of those things which themselves had seene; the Twelve had a preheminance above the rest of the Disciples, in those three particulars: first, in their neernesse of accessse unto him when he was alive: Secondly, in the latitude of their commission, when he was to leave them: And thirdly, in the height of their authority after his departure.

(1) *Ignat. Epist ad Smyrnens.*

For first; the *twelve Apostles*, and no others were the continuall, constant, and domesticall *Auditors* of all his *Sermons*; the diligent beholders and observers of all his *miracles*. With them did he discourse familiarly, propounding questions, answering their demands, and satisfying all their scruples. The *Twelve*, and none but they, were present with him, when he did institute his *holy Supper*: and they alone participated of those prayers and promises which

V:

(u) *Clemens Alex. ap. Euseb. l. 2. c. 1.*

(x) *Mark. 16.*

(y) *Chrys. Tom. 8. p. 110. edit. Savill.*

he made to them from himselfe, or for them to his heavenly Father. Many there were of his retinue, of his Court not few: the Twelve were onely of his Counsell; and of those too, some more especially admitted to his privacies, and of his cabinet counsell, (as it were) then others; whereof see *Mat. 17. 1. Mark. 14. 33. Luk. 8. 51.* And on this ground doth (u) *Clemens* tell us, that Christ imparted many things unto these three, after his ascension, which they communicated *τοῖς λοιποῖς Ἀποστόλοις*, unto the rest of the Apostles: the rest of the Apostles to the 70. As they were neerer in access, so were they furnished with a more liberall Commission, when he was to leave them. (x) *Ite in universum mundum.* He said unto them, *Goe into all the world, and preach the Gospell to every creature.* No such commission granted to any others, who had their severall precincts and bounds, a limited commission when it was at best. To the eleven (for unto them alone did hee give that charge) the whole world went but for a *Diocesse*. For this cause (y) *Chrysostome* doth honour them with the stile of *Princes*, and *Princes* of a great command over all the universe. *Ἀρχιεῖς ἦντο καὶ διὰ χριστιανισμοῦ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι, &c.* The Apostles were ordained *Princes* by the hand of God: *Princes* which have not onely under them some Townes,

Townes, and Nations, *ὅλην πᾶντες κοινῇ τῷ*  
*Θεομένῳ ἐμπιστευόντες*, but such unto whose  
 care the whole world was trusted: So farre  
 that Father. And if wee doubt that their  
 authority fell short in any thing of their  
 commission: the same good Father in the  
 same place, will informe us otherwise. For  
 making a comparison betweene Spirituall  
 and Civill dignities, hee calleth the office  
 of an Apostle (a) *ἐπιστάτην πνευματικὴν*, a spiritu-  
 all Consulship, *ἀρχὴν πνευματικὴν τῆς ἐκκλ.*, the most  
 spirituall of all powers or governments;  
 and finally, *ἡ πνευματικὴ ἀρχὴ κεφαλὴ, καὶ εἰ-*  
*ς αὐτὴν, καὶ ἐκείνη*: the head, the roote, nay  
 the foundation of all spirituall dignities of  
 what sort soever. Doubtlesse the Father had  
 good reason for so high an Eulogie. When  
 Christ affirmed, *Sicut misit me Pater*, (b) that  
*as his Father sent him, so sent hee them*: He  
 said enough to intimate that supreme au-  
 thority which he had given them in the  
 Church whether it were in *preaching*  
 of the Gospell, in *founding Churches, Con-*  
*stituting, and ordaining Pastors*, or whatsoe-  
 ver else was necessary for the advancement  
 of his Kingdome. For by these words,  
 as Cyrill hath right well observed, (c) *κατα-*  
*στάμενα τοὺς ὁδογυγῆτας καὶ διδασκαλοὺς*, he  
 did ordaine them for to be guides, and tea-  
 chers unto all the world, & the dispensers of  
 his holy mysteries, commanding them not

(a) *Chrys. ibid.*(b) *Joh. 20. 21.*(c) *Cyrl. in Ioh. Evang. l. 12.*

onely to enlighten the land of *Fewrie*, but all the people of the universe: as also giving them to understand that it was their duty, ἀμαρτωλὸς οἷς μετάνοιαν κηλεῖν, to call the sinners to repentance, to heale all those that were afflicted, either in body or in soule, in the dispensing of Gods blessings; not to follow their owne will, but his that sent them: and in a word, as much as in them was, ταῖς διδασκαλίαις ἃς παρέλαβεν, to save the world by wholesome doctrines, for to that purpose was he sent by his Heavenly Father. And so we are to understand *Saint Chrysostome*, when he tels us this, that Christ invested his Apostles with the like authority as he received from his Father. (e) *Calvin* affirms as much or more upon those words of our Redeemer. *Quare non abs re Christus cum Apostolis suis communicat, quam à Patre auctoritatem acceperat, &c.* But this authority of theirs will be seen more clearly, when we behold it in the practice, and execution.

(d) Αὐθεντία  
δίδωσι αὐτοῖς  
τὴν δύναμιν.  
*Hom. in. Joh. c.*  
20. 21.  
(e) *Calv. in Ioh.*

## VI.

Five things then of necessity were to concur in the making or constituting of an *Apostle*, truly and properly so called: first an immediate call from Christ himselfe: secondly, an *Autopsie*, or eye-witnessing of those things which they were afterwards to preach or publish of him: thirdly, their neernesse of access: fourthly, the latitude



latitude of their Commission: fifthly, and finally, the eminence of their authority. Of these the first were common with them unto the rest of the Disciples, save that the calling of the *Apostles* to that charge, and function doth seeme to be more solemne, and immediate. But in the rest, which are indeed the speciall or specificall differences, they had no co-partners. This made them every way *superiour* unto the rest of the Disciples, although all *equall* in themselves. Though in the calling of those blessed spirits to that great imployment, there was a *prius* and *posterius*; yet in regard of power & authority, there was neither *Summum*, nor *Subalternum*: And howsoever *Peter* be first named in that sacred *Catalogue*; yet this entitleth him to no more authority, above the rest of the *Apostles*, then *Stephen* might challenge in that regard above the residue of the *Seaven*. *Saint Cyprian* did resolve this cause many hundreds since; assigning unto all the 12. a parity of power and honour. (f) *Hoc erant utique & ceteri Apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio praeiiti, & honoris & potestatis; sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur.* Where cleerly there is nothing given to *Peter*, but a priority of order; a *primacie* if you will, but no *supremacie*. Neither doth *Barlaam* give him more, though he inscribe his booke, *de Papa Principatu.*

(f) *Cyprian lib. de unitate Ecclesiæ*

(g) Barlaam de  
Papa principa-  
lis.

(h) Mar. 17. 1.

(i) Mark. 14.  
33.

*cipatu*. (g) Ἀποστόλοι τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἰσχυρὰ ἦσαν  
πᾶσι κοινὰ ἰσχυρὰ, &c. The Apostles, all of  
them saith hee, in matters which concerned  
the Church, were of equall honour. If *Peter*  
had preheminence in any thing, it was  
that in their sacred meetings he first brake  
the businesse, καὶ ὁ πρωτεύων ἐλάλει, and  
peradventure also had the upper place in  
the assemblies of that *goodly fellowship*. But  
what need *Cyprian*, or *Barlaam* come in for  
evidence, when as wee find this parity so  
clearly evidenced in holy Scripture? In the  
immediatenesse of their calling, and their  
accesse unto our Lord and Saviour, they  
were all alike. Hee that called *Peter* from  
his nets, called also *Matthew* from the re-  
ceit of custome. If onely *Peter*, and the  
sonnes of *Zebedee* were taken with him to  
mount *Tabor* (h) there to behold the glory  
of his *Transfiguration*; or chosen from a-  
mongst the rest to attend his person (i)  
when he went out into the Garden of *Geth-  
semane*: this makes as much for the *suprema-  
cie* of the sonnes of *Zebedee*, as the sonne of  
*Fona*. Their mission, and commission were  
alike to all. He that said *Ite & docete*, Goe  
into all the world and *preach the Gospell to  
every creature*, spake it indefinitely to every  
one; not unto *Peter* only, as the supreme  
*Pastor*; from whom the rest were to receive  
a delegated and confined autoritie. Neither  
had

had hee so often beene molested with that needlesse question, *which of them should be greatest in their Masters Kingdome*: had he before determined of it, and settled the supremacie in Saint *Peters* person. And as for those prerogatives, of *Tibi dabo claves, Pasce oves meas*: which being spoken unto *Peter*, may seeme peculiarly to belong to him: the Fathers say, that nothing did hereby accrew to *Peter*, but what was common to the rest. (i) *Ecclesia enim claves regni caelorum data sunt. Et cum ei dicitur, ad omnes dicitur, Amas me? Pasce oves meas*: as Saint *Austin* states it. But what need more be said to affirme this point, then that of our most blessed Saviour, when he encouraged them to perseverance with this heavenly cordeall, that they should sit upon (k) *twelve Thrones, judgeing the twelve Tribes of Israel*? In which most gracious words of his, as the sitting of the *Apostles* shewes authority; their sitting upon thrones, an eminence of power; their sitting to judge, a power and exercise of jurisdiction; and their sitting thus to judge the twelve Tribes of *Israel*, the universality and extent of their jurisdiction: so doth their sitting on twelve thrones, *singuli in sua sede*, (l) as *Fansenius* hath it, intimate an equality of jurisdiction, a parity in point of power.

But to proceed. Our Saviour finding

D

that

(i) *August. lib. de  
Agon. Christian.  
c. 30.*

(k) *Mat. 19.  
28.*

(l) *Fansen. harn.  
Evang. in locum.*

VII.

(m) Luk. 10. 1.

Vers. 9.

Vers. 17.

(n) Hist. Eccle.  
lib. 1. c. 12. a.(o) Ap. Euseb.  
hist. l. 1. c. 33.  
a9.(p) In Panar. l.  
1. l. 2. ref. 20 n 4.

that the harvest was great, and the labourers as yet but few, and that his houre was now at hand, (m) appointed other seventy also, and sent them two, and two before his face, into every City and place, whither he himselfe would come. To them he gave authority to proclaime, and publish to the people, that the Kingdome of God was come nigh unto them: giving them also power to heale the sicke, and to cast out Devils, as hee had formerly to his Apostles. So that there is no question to be made, but that they were intrusted with a part of this sacred Ministry, but whether in an equall ranke we shall see anon. In the meane time if any question should be asked who these Seventy were, and by what names called; we answer, *nondum constat*, that we cannot tell. (n) Eusebius as great a searcher into the monuments of antiquity, as the Church ever bred, professeth plainly, *κατάλογον μὲν ὁ δὲ ἴσθαι οὐ δύναται*, that he could never meete with any list or catalogue of them. Some he had taken up on heare-say, as Barnabas, Sosthenes, Cephas, Matthias, after chose into the place of Judas, and Thaddæus. (o) Papias mentioneth Aristion, as another of that number also. And Epiphanius (p) addes to these, Stephen, and the residue of the Seven, Marke and Luke, two of the Evangelists, Justus, who stood in competition with Matthias, together

together with *Apelles*, *Rufus*, and *Niger*, whose names accurre in holy Scripture. These are the most that there is any ground for, in antiquity. As for the Catalogue of their names and actions fathered on *Dorotheus* Bishop of *Tyre*: there is not any thing more false & fabulous: that *Rhapsodist* thrusting into that *Catalogue*, many who were converted by the Apostles, after Christs ascension. Infomuch as (q) *Estius* worthily complaineth, *eos fere omnes qui à Paulo in hoc capite nominantur, aut salutes, aut saluandi*, that all the men whose names occurre in the 16. chapter to the *Romans*, are by him thrust into the Catalogue of the *Seventy* Disciples: not to say any thing of those many other absurdities, which hee hath noted in that Bedroll.

As for the number of *Seventy*, why our Redeemer pitched on that, there is not much dispute amongst the learned. (r) *Tertullian*, who had fitted (as before wee saw) the number of the *Apostles*, to the twelve fountaines in *Elim*; doth also proportion the number of these *Disciples*, *ad arbuta Palmarum*, unto the number of the *Palm-trees*, that grew thereby. But this being onely in the way of *Allegorie*, we shall passe it over: onely reserving the Application made by *Hierome* for a little longer. That which cometh neereſt the matter, and is agreed

(q) *Estius* in  
*Rom. c. 16.*

## VIII.

(r) *Tertul. contr.*  
*Marcion. l. 4.*

(f) Calvin in  
harmon. Evan.

(t) Hieron. in  
canone Lucæ.

(u) in Evan. l. 2.  
cap. 14.

(x) Beza in An-  
not. in Luc. 10.

upon almost by all sorts of writers, is that our Saviour in this choyse, related to the *Seventy Elders* interessed in the government of the tribes of *Israel*: mention of whom is made, *Num. 11. 16. Ezek. 8 11.* (f) Calvin amongst the rest gives this reason of it, *In numero septuaginta videtur enim ordinem secutus esse, cui jam olim assueverat populus*: and addes withall another note, which may well serve to reconcile the difference about this number, which is betweene the *Greeke*, & the *Latine* copies. For the *Greeke* copies have it generally, ἀριστοι καὶ ἑτέραι ἑβδομήκοντα, that hee appointed other seventy also, as our *English* reads it, The *Latine* no lesse generally: *Designavit & alios septuaginta duos*, that he sent out other seventy two: which reading doth occurre in (t) *Hierome*, (u) *Austine*, and some others. I know indeed, (x) *Beza* doth put an handsome flurre on the *Latine* Copies, and thinks that some poore ignorant scribes (*Librarii indocti*, as he calls them) abbreviating the word *discipulos* into *dlos*: others as ignorant as they, out of *dlos* read *duos*, and so found seventy two Disciples instead of seventy. But surely those renowned Fathers *Hierome*, and *Austine*, were no such *Babies*: not to say any thing of *Beda*, and the rest that followed. And therefore since it is agreed on, that these Disciples were proportioned to the number of



of the *Elders* of the Tribes of *Israel*: wee must first find what was the number of those *Elders*, before wee can agree upon the other. Now for the number of those *Elders*, the Scripture saith expressely, they were seventy two, as may appeare by comparing the 25. verse of the 11. of *Numbers*, with the 26. in which wee find that there were *seventy Elders gathered about the Tabernacle*, besides *Eldad*, and *Medad* in the Camp. For making up this number, as afterwards in the translation of the *Bible*, there were sixe chosen out of every Tribe, *ἑξ ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἑκάστης*, as (y) *Iosephus* hath it, which commeth to seventy two in all. But both the *seventy two Elders*, are generally called the *Seventy*; as the Translators of the *Bible* are called the *Septuagint*; both of them *ad rotundationem numeri*: even as the Magistrates in *Rome* were called *Centumviri*, though being three for every tribe, they came unto an hundred and five in all. And this is that which (z) *Calvin* hath observed in the present businesse: viz. that the Consistorie of the *Jewish Judges*, to which the number of the Disciples is by him proportioned, consisted of no lesse than 72. though for the most part, *ut fieri solet in talibus numeris*, they are called the 70. So then to reconcile the *Latin* with the *Greek* Originall, there were in all 72. Disciples, according to the truth of the calculation

(y) *Ioseph. Ant. Iudae. l. 1. c. 2.*

(z) *Calvin. in hanc. Evang. ut supra.*

tion: and yet but seventy in account, according to the estimation which was then in use. And therefore possible the Church of *England*, the better to comply with both computations; though it have seventy in the new *Translations*, yet still retaines the number of seventy two, in the Gospell appointed for Saint *Lukes* day in the booke of *Common-Prayer* confirmed by Parliament.

This being the number of the *Disciples*, it will then fall out, that as there were six *Elders*, for every Tribe; so here will be six *Presbyters* or *Elders*, for every one of the *Apostles*. For those which have compared the Church of *Christ* which was first planted by the *Apostles*, with that which was first founded by the *Lord* himself: resemble the *Bishops* in the Church to the twelve *Apostles*; the *Presbyters*, or *Priests*, unto the *Seventy*. Which parallell how well it holdeth, and whether it will hold or not, we shall see hereafter. Meane while it cannot be denied, but that the *Apostles* were superiour to these *Seventy*, both in place and power. The Fathers have so generally affirmed the same, that he must needs runne crosse unto all antiquity that makes question of it. The Councell of *Neocæsarea*, which was convened some yeares before that of *Nice*, declareth that the  
*Chorepiscopi*,

*Chorepiscopi*, which were but (a) Presbyters in fact, ( though in title Bishops ) *eis timon en hi ebidomizota*, were instituted according to the patterne of the *Seventy*. Saint *Hierome*, in his tractate *ad Fabiolam*, speaking of the twelve fountaines of *Elim*, and the seventy Palmes that grew thereby, doth resolve it thus, *Nec dubium quin de duodecem Apostolis sermo sit, &c.* It is not to be doubted, but that the Scripture speaketh here of the twelve Apostles, the waters issuing from whole fountaines have moistned the barren driness of the whole world; and that the seventy Palmes that grew thereby, are the teachers of the second ranke or order: *Luca testante duodecem fuisse Apostolos, & septuaginta Discipulos minoris gradus*: Saint *Luke* affirming that there were twelve Apostles, and seventy Disciples of a lower order, whom the Lord sent two and two before him. In this conceit, Saint *Ambrose* led the way before him, likening unto those Palmes the *Seventy*, *qui Secundo ab Apostolis gradu*, who in a second ranke from the Apostles, were by the Lord sent forth for the salvation of mankind. *Serm. 24.* (c) *Damasus* their co-temporarie doth affirme as much, *viz: non amplius quam duos ordines*, that there were but two orders amongst the Disciples of *Christ*, *viz.* that of the twelve Apostles

(a) *Leo Ep. 88.*(b) *Concil. Neocaesar. 1. Can. 13.*(c) *Epist. 5.*

(d) *Theoph.* in  
Luc. 10.

(e) *Calvin, in*  
*Instit. l. 4 c. 8.*  
ff. 4.

(f) *Ep. ad Oce-*  
*num.*

*Apostles*, and the *Seventy*. (d) *Theophylact* concurs with *Hierome* in his conceit about the twelve fountaines, and the seven-  
tie *Palme trees*: and then concludes, that  
“howsoever they were chosen by Christ,  
“*consecrati sunt in eo* *et* *in* *his* *discipulis*, yet were they infe-  
“riour to the twelve, and afterwards their  
“followers and schollers. Adde hereunto  
the testimony and consent of (e) *Calvin*,  
who giving the preheminance unto the *A-*  
*postles*, as the chief builders of the Church;  
addes in the next place the *Evangelists*,  
such as were *Timothy* and *Titus*, & *fortassis*  
*etiam septuaginta Discipuli*, *quos secundo ab*  
*Apostolis loco Dominus designavit*: and perad-  
venture also the *seventy Disciples*, whom  
Christ appointed in the second place after  
his *Apostles*. Besides, (f) *S. Hierome* giveth it  
for a *Maxime*, *Qui provehitur, de minore ad*  
*magis provehitur*, that he which is promoted,  
is promoted from a lower ranke unto an  
higher: *Matthias* therefore, having beene  
formerly of the *Seventy*, and afterwards  
advanced into the ranke and number of the  
*Twelve*, in the place of *Judas*: it must needs  
follow that the *twelve Apostles* shined in  
an higher sphere than these lesser lumina-  
ries. Now that *Matthias* had before bin one  
of the *seventy*, appeareth by the concur-  
rent testimonies of *Euseb. lib. 1. Eccles. Hist.*  
*6. 12. & l. 2. cap. 1.* and of *Epiphanius contr.*  
*heres.*

hæres. 20. n. 4. to whom, for brevity sake, I referre the Reader. And this the rather, because the Scripture is so full & pregnant in it; it being a condition, or qualification, if you will, required by (g) S. Peter, in those that were the *Candidates* for so high a dignity, *that they accompanied the Apostles all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out amongst them.* And that we know none did, but the *Seventy* onely. So then it is most cleare, and manifest, both by authority of Scripture, and consent of Fathers, that our *Saviour* instituted in his Church two rankes of *Ministers*, the one subordinate unto the other: and consequently, laid the first foundations of it, in such a Fatherly, and moderate *imparity*, as bound all following times and ages, that would not willingly oppose so Divine an ordinance, to observe the like.

(g) Act. i. v. 21.

And yet it is not to be thought, that this *superiority* thus by him established, doth contradict those other passages of holy Scripture, wherein he doth prohibit all dominion over one another. They much mistake the businesse who conceive it so. The *Jewes* in generall, and all the followers of Christ particularly, expected that the promised *Messiah* should come with power, restore againe the lustre of the *Jewish* Kingdome, and free them from that yoke and

X.

E

bondage,

(b) 24.21.

(i) Act. 1.6.

(k) Mat. 20.25.  
Luk. 22.25.

bondage, which by the *Romans* had beene laid upon them. *We thought, (h)* said Cleophas, *that this had beene hee that should have delivered Israel.* And what hee thought, was solemnely expected by all the rest. (i) *Domine, si in tempore hoc restitues regnum Israel,* Lord, say they, even in the very moment of his Ascension, wilt thou at this time restore againe the Kingdome unto Israel? Upon which fancie and imagination, no marvell if they harboured some ambitious thought; every one hoping for the neereſt places, both of power and trust about his person. This was the greatnesse which they aimed at: and this our Saviour laboured to divert them from: by interdicting all such power and Empire, as Princes, and the favorites of Princes have upon their vassals. (k) *Tecum know (saith hee) that the Princes of the Gentiles exercise Dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them: Vobis autem non sic, But so it shall not be amongst you.* Where plainly it appears, both by the text and context: first, that this strife and contestation was onely amongst the twelve *Apostles*; and therefore howsoever it may prove that there was to be a parity or equality amongst themselves, yet it will never prove, but that they were, and might be still superiour unto the *Seventy*. And secondly, that Christ our Saviour doth



doth not prohibit them the use and exercise of all authority, on those who were inferiour and subordinate to them; but on-le such authority as the *Princes* of the *Gentiles*, and the great Lords and Ministers about them did exercise upon their subjects. The power and government of the Apostles in the Church of Christ was meerly ~~me~~ such as a Father beareth unto his children: but not ~~domin~~, a Lordly, and imperious rule, such as a Master exerciseth on his slaves and servants: (l) *Not as Lords over Gods inheritance,* (m) *but as the helpers of their joy,* say the two Apostles. And herein stands the difference, according unto that of (n) *Chrysostome, Principes mundi ideo fiunt, ut dominantur minoribus suis*, The Princes of the earth were made to this end and purpose, that they might Lord it over their inferiours, and make them slaves, and spoyle them, and devour them, abasing them unto the death, for their owne profit and glory: *Principes autem Ecclesie fiunt, &c.* But the Governours or Princes of the Church were instituted to another end. *viz.* To serve their inferiours, and to minister unto them all such things, as they have received from the Lord.

This eminence and superiority over all the Church, which was thus settled in the Apostles by our Lord and Saviour, will  
E 2      appeare

(l) 1 Pet. 5. 3.

(m) 2 Cor. 2.

24.  
(n) Chrysost.  
in oper. imper.  
in Mat. hom. 35.

XI.

appeare more fully, if we consult the severall ministrations committed unto them, and to them alone. For unto them alone it was, that *Christ* committed the whole power of *preaching* of his holy Word, *administring* his blessed Sacraments, *retaining* and *forgiving* sinnes, *ruling* and ordering of his flocke: giving them also further power of *instituting*, and *ordaining* such, by whom these severall offices were to be performed till his second comming. None but the Twelve were present with him, when hee ordained the blessed Sacrament of his body and blood: and unto them alone was said (*o*) *Hoc facite*, do this: i.e. take bread, and breake, and blesse it, and distribute it, *in remembrance of mee*. To the eleven alone it was that he gave commission to (*p*) go into all the world and preach the Gospel to all creatures, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost. They onely had that powerfull & immediate mission, (*q*) *Sicut misit me Pater*, As my Father sent mee, so send I you; and upon them alone he *breathed*, saying, (*r*) *Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sinnes you do remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose sinnes you do retaine, they are retained*. Finally, they, and none but they were trusted with the *feeding*, and the *governance* of the Flocke of *Christ*, (the word *Ποιμαίνειν* in the Greeke

(*o*) Luk. 22. 19.

(*p*) Mar. 28. 19.

(*q*) Joh. 20. 21.

(*r*) Joh. 20. 22.  
23.

Greeke doth imply them both) for howsoever (f) *Pasce oves meas*, was in particular spoken to S. Peter; yet was that charge incumbent on them all, as before wee noted from Saint *Anstīn*. By all which passages and texts of Scripture it is cleere and manifest that the *Apostles* were by Christ ordained to be the sole and ordinary Teachers, *Bishops*, and *Pastors* of the Church, next and immediately under his most blessed selfe, who still continueth (r) ὁ μέγας καὶ ἀγαθός τῶν ποιμὴν, the great Shepheard of the Sheepe, as *Paul*; (u) the Shepheard and Bishop of our soules, as Saint *Peter* calls him. The *Seventy* had no part in this new Commission, the dispensation of the word, and Sacraments, but at second hand; as they were afterwards intrusted with it, by the holy *Apostles*, either as *Prophets*, *Presbyters*, or *Evangelists*, according to the measure of the Grace which was given unto them: or specially designed to some part therein, after the *Ascension* of our Lord and Saviour, by the immediate designation of the Holy Ghost. And when they were entrusted with a part thereof, yet were they still *secundi Ordinis*, Ministers of a second ranke, inferiour unto the *Apostles*, both in place and power, to whom all latitude of power was given. Nay, the *Apostles* tooke an hint from this different mission, to institute two

(f) Joh. 21. 15.  
16.

(r) Heb. 13. 20.

(u) 1 Pet. 2. 25.

De Repub. Eccl.  
l. 2 c. 3. n. 7.

severall sorts of Ministers in the Church of Christ: the one subordinate unto the other, as were the *Seventy* unto them. And this by vertue of these words in their Commission, *Ita mitto vos; i. e.* as the Arch-Bishop of Spalato very well applyeth it, *Sicut ego à Patre habui potestatem eligendi Ministros, etiam diversi ordinis, ita & vos pariter habetis.* As I received power from my heavenly Father, of instituting Ministers, even of divers Orders, so I give it you. And therefore whatsoever the Apostles did therein, they did it after Christs example, and by his authority: and consequently, the imparity of Ministers by them ordained, was founded on the Law of God, and the originall institution of our Saviour Christ, by whom the power of Ordination was to them committed, and by them unto their Successours in the Church for ever.

## XII.

To bring this Chapter to an end, our Saviour Christ having thus furnished his Apostles with those severall powers, faculties, and preheminences which before wee spake of, he thought it best to recommend them to the blessings of Almighty God, whose work they were to goe about. And therefore being to take his fare-well of them, did in a very solemne manner bestow his benediction on them. (x) *Elevatis manibus suis benedixit eis,* He lifted up his hands,

(x) Luk. 24. 50.

hands, and blessed them, as Saint *Luke* hath it. Which benediction Saint *Austin* takes to be a consecrating of those holy men unto the power and dignity of *Bishops*. (y) *Ipse enim priusquam in celos ascenderet, imponens manum Apostolis, ordinavit eos Episcopos*: as the Father hath it. Which whether it were so or not, I meane so done with such an outward forme and ceremony, and in that very point of time, is perhaps uncertaine: But sure I am, that for the thing it selfe, which is here delivered, the Fathers, many of them do agree with *Austin*, affirming, *passim*, in their writings, that the *Apostles* were made *Bishops* by our blessed Lord. Saint (z) *Cyprian* voucheth it expressly. The *Deacons* ought to understand, *quoniam Apostolos, i.e. Episcopos, & Præpositos Dominus elegit*, that the Lord *Christ* himselfe did choose the *Apostles*, that is, the *Bishops* and *Rulers* of the Church: and that the *Apostles* after his ascension did ordaine the *Deacons* to be the Ministers of their *Episcopall* function, and the necessities of the Church. (a) Saint *Ambrose* doth affirme the same, *Caput itaque in Ecclesia Apostolos posuit, &c.* *Christ*, saith he, made the *Apostles* the head (or supreme Governours) of his Church, they being the Legats or Ambassadors of *Christ*, according unto that of the *Apostle*, 2 *Cor.* 5. 20. And then

(y) *Aug. quest. N. Test. qu. 14.*

(z) *Cyp. lib. 3. Ep. 9.*

(a) *Ambros. in 1. ad Cor. c. 12.*

(b) In Comment.  
in Ephes. 4.

(c) De Repub.  
Eccles. l. 2 c. 2.  
n. 4.

(d) Chrys. hom.  
14. in Act. 6.

## XIII.

(e) Act. 1. 20.

(f) Chrys. hom.  
3. in Act. 1.

then he addes, *Ipsi sunt Episcopi*, that they were Bishops. (b) More plainly in his Comment on the *Ephesians*, *Apostoli Episcopi sunt, Prophetæ, explanatores Scripturarum*. The Apostles, saith he, are Bishops, and Prophets, the expositors of Scripture. But because question hath beene made, whether indeed those Commentaries are the workes of Ambrose, or of some other ancient writer; he tels us in his notes on the 43. Ps. that in those words of Christ, *Pasce oves meas*, (c) Peter was made a Bishop by our Lord and Saviour. *Significat Ambrosius Petrum Sacerdotem, hoc est, Episcopum electum, illis verbis, Pasce oves meas*: as the place is cited by the Arch-Bishop of Spalato. And thus Saint Chrysostome speaking of the election of the Seven, (d) saith plainly, *οὐκ ἦν τότε ἐπίσκοποι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλ' οἱ ἀποστόλοι μόνον*, that then there were no Bishops in the Church, but onely the Apostles.

But what need more be said in the present businesse, than that which is delivered in the holy Scripture, about the surrogation of some other in the place of Judas: (e) wherein the place or function of an Apostle is plainly called *Episcopatus*; *Episcopatum ejus accipiat alter*, let another take his Bishopricke, as the English reads it. His Bishopricke, (f) i. e. saith Chrysostome, *τὴν ἀρχὴν, τὴν ἡγεσίαν*, his principality, his Priesthood, the



the place of government that belonged unto him, had he kept his station. A text most plain and pregnant as the Fathers thought, to prove that the *Episcopall* dignity was vested in the persons of the Lords Apostles. The Comment under the name of *Ambrose*, (g) which before we spake of, having said, *Ipsi sunt Episcopi*, that the Apostles were *Bishops*, addes for the prooffe thereof these words of *Peter*, *Episcopatum ejus accipiat alter*. And the true (h) *Ambrose* saying of *Judas*, that he was a Bishop [*Episcopus enim & Judas fuit*] addes for the prooffe thereof the same very text. Finally, to conclude this matter, Saint *Cyprian*, shewing that Ordinations were not made (i) without the privitie of the people, in the Jewish Church, addes that the same was afterwards observed by the holy Apostles, *Quando de ordinando in locum Jude Episcopo*; when *Peter* spake unto the people, about the ordering of a *Bishop* in the place of *Judas*. But for a further prooffe of this, that the Apostles were ordained Bishops by our Lord & Saviour, we shall see more hereafter in convenient place (k) when wee are come to shew, that in the government of the Church, the *Bishops* were the proper *Successors* of the *Apostles*; and so esteemed to be by those, who otherwise were no great friends unto *Episcopacie*. In the meane  
F time,

(g) *Ambros. in*  
*1 ad Cor. c. 12.*

(h) *Id. Scam. 50.*

(i) *Nisi sub po-*  
*puli assistentia*  
*consecranda. l. b.*  
*1. p. 4.*

(k) *Wide chap.*  
*6. n. 12.*

Lib. 2. Summa  
de Eccl. c. 33.  
ap. Bell. de Rom.  
Pont.

time we may take notice of that impudent  
assertion of *Johannes de Turre cremata: viz.*  
*Quod solus Petrus à Christo Episcopus est ordi-*  
*natus:* that Peter, onely Peter was made Bi-  
shop by our Saviour *Christ*, and that the rest  
of the Apostles received from Peter their  
*Episcopall* consecration: wherein I find  
him seconded by *Dominicus Jacobatus*, lib.  
10. de Concil. Art. 7. A paradoxe so mon-  
strous and absurd, that howsoever *Bellar-*  
*mine* doth reckon it amongst other the *Pre-*  
*rogatives* of that Apostle, in his first Booke  
de Romano Pontifice, cap. 23. yet upon better  
thoughts, he rejects it utterly in his 4. Booke  
upon that argument, Cap. 22. and so I  
leave it.

Thus having showne in what estate the  
Church was founded by our Saviour, and  
in what termes he left it unto his *Apostles*:  
we must next see what course was tooke by  
them to promote the same, what use they  
made of that authority which was trusted  
to them.



## CHAP. II.

The foundation of the Church of *Hierusalem* under the government of Saint *James* the Apostle, and *Simeon*, one of the Disciples, the two first Bishops of the same.

I. *Matthias chosen into the place of Judas.*

II. *The coming of the Holy Ghost: and on whom it fell.*

III. *The greatest measure of the spirit fell on the Apostles; and so by consequence the greatest power.*

IV. *The severall Ministrations in the Church then given; and that in ranking of the same, the Bishops are intended in the name of Pastors.*

V. *The sudden growth of the Church of Hierusalem, and the making of Saint James the first Bishop there.*

VI. *The former point deduced from Scripture.*

VII. *And proved by the generall consent of Fathers.*

VIII. *Of the Episcopall chaire, or Throne of Saint James, and his successors in Hierusalem.*

IX. *Simeon elected by the Apostles to succeed Saint James.*

X. *The meaning of the word Episcopus, and from whence borrowed by the Church.*

XI. *The institution of the Presbyters.*

XII. *What interest they had in the common businesse of the Church, whilst Saint James was Bishop.*

XIII. *The Councell of Hierusalem, and what the Presbyters had to do therein.*

XIV. *The institution of the Seven; and to what office they were called.*

XV. *The names of Ecclesiasticall functions, promiscuously used in holy Scripture.*

I.



Our Saviour Christ having thus authorized his Apostles to preach the Gospell over all the world, to every creature; and given them power as well of ministring the Sacraments, as of retaining and remitting sinnes, as before is said: thought fit to leave them to themselves: onely commanding them to (a) tarry in the City of Hierusalem untill they were indued with further power from on high: whereby they might be fitted for so great a worke. (b) And when hee had spoken those things, while

(a) Luk. 24. 49.

(b) Act. 1. 9.

while they beheld, hee was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight. No sooner was hee gone to the heavenly glories, but the *Apostles* with the rest, withdrew themselves unto *Hierusalem*, as hee had appointed: where the first care they tooke was, to fill up their number, to surrogate some one or other of the Disciples, in the place of *Judas*, that so the Word of God might be fulfilled, which he had spoken by the *Psalmist*, (c) *Episcopatum ejus accipiat alter*. A businesse of no small importance, and therefore fit to be imparted unto all the *Brethren*: not so much that their suffrage, & consent herein was necessary, as that they might together joyne in (d) *prayer* to Almighty God, to direct the action, whose businesse indeed it was, and unto whom alone the whole election properly pertained. All that they did was to propose two men unto the Lord their God, (Et (e) *statuerunt duos*, saith the text) such as they thought most fit for so great a charge, and so to leave it to his providence, to shew and manifest which of the two he pleased to choose. In the appointment of which two, whether that *statuerunt* being a verbe of the Plurall number, be to be referred to all the multitude, as *Chrysostome* is of opinion, or onely unto the *Apostles*, and the *Seventy*, as some others thinke, it comes

(c) *Psal.* 69. 25.(d) *Act.* 1. 21.(e) *Act.* 1. 23.

(f) *Act. 1. 15*(g) *Chrysost. in  
Rom. 3. in Aff.*(b) *1 Cor. 15.*(i) *Galat. 1. 1.*

all to one. For the whole number being but (f) *an hundred and twenty*, and being that the *Apostles* with the *Seventy* (out of which ranke the nomination of the two was made) made up the number of fourescore: it must needs be that the appointment in effect, was in them alone. And though I rather do incline to *Chrysostome*, in this particular, that the appointment of these two was done by all the multitude in generall; yet I can yeeld by no meanes to the next that followeth. (g) For shewing some politicke, and worldly reasons, why *Peter* did permit the people to have an interest in the businesse, he first asked this question; ἡλέως [τὸ Πέτρος] οὐτὸς ἢ ἐκ ἐλῶ; whether it were not lawfull for Saint *Peter* to have chose the man. And then hee answereth positively, καὶ πάντως, that it was most lawfull, but that hee did forbear to do it, lest he might seeme to do it out of partialitie. In this I must crave leave to dissent from *Chrysostome*. The power of making an *Apostle* was too high a priviledge, to be intrusted unto any of the sonnes of *Adam*. *Paul* was not made *Apostle*, though an (b) *abortive* one, as hee calls himselfe, (i) *either of men, or by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father*. What priviledge or power soever *Peter* had as an *Apostle* of the Lord in making *Bishops*, or as a *Bishop* of



of the Church in ordaining *Presbyters*: he had no power to make *Apostles*. The Pope might sing *Placebo*, if it had beene otherwise: and we should have *Apostles* more than ten times twelve, if nothing were required unto it, but Saint *Peters Fiat*.

But to proceed: this weighty businesse being thus dispatched, and *Matthias* (k) who before was of the *Seventy*, being numbred with the eleven *Apostles*, it pleased God to make good his promise of powring on them in a plentfull and signall manner, the gifts and graces of his holy Spirit. Not on the *Twelve* alone, or the *Seventy* onely; but on the whole body of the *Disciples*; even on the whole 120. which before we spake of. I know that *Beza*, and some others would limit this effusion of the holy Ghost to the *Twelve* alone. Why, and to what intent he doth so resolve it, though I may guesse perhaps, yet I will not judge: but sure it is, hee fore resolves it. (l) *Solis Apostolis propria est hac Spiritus sancti missio, sicut proprius fuit Apostolatus*, as his owne words are, in his Annotations on the text. The same he also doth affirme in his *Book de Ministrorum Evangelii gradibus*, cap. 5. But herein *Beza* leaves the Fathers, and the text to boote. (m) Saint *Austin* tels us, that the Holy Ghost came from heaven, & *implevit uno loco sedentes centum viginti*,

(k) *Epiphani.*  
*hæres. 20 n. 4.*

(l) *Beza in Act.*  
2.

(m) *T. 1. c. 2. in*  
*p. Johannis.*

(n) Hom. 4. in  
Act. c. 2.

(o) Act. 2. 16.

(p) Act. 1. 14.

(q) Act. 2. 3. 4.

*viginti*, and filled one hundred and twenty sitting in one place. (n) Saint Chrysostome affirms the same, *τις δὲ; Ἀπὸ τῶν δώδεκα μόνον; ἅπας, &c.* what, saith he, did it come on the twelve alone, not upon the rest? And then he answereth, *ἵσταμένους*, not so by no meanes, it fell on all the 120. which were there assembled. Nor doth he onely say it, but he proves it also, alleaging in defence of his assertion that very plea and argument which was used by *Peter*, to cleare himself, and his associates from the imputation of being drunken with new wine, *viz. Hoc est quod dictum fuit per Prophetam Joel*, (o) This is that which was spoken by the Prophet *Joel*, *I will powre out of my Spirit upon all flesh, &c.* Besides, the text and context make it plaine enough, that this effusion of the holy Ghost was upon them all. In the first Chapter of the *Acts* (p) we find them *all together* (the whole 120.) *with one accord*: and in the first verse of the second chapter, we find them *all together with the same accord*: and then it followeth, that there appeared cloven tongues, like as of fire, (q) *seditque supra singulos eorum*, and sate upon each of them; *and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost*. If they were *all together*, (as we found before) and *all were filled with the Holy Ghost*: no question but there were more filled with it than the twelve Apostles.

Apostles. And when as *Peter with the eleven stood up*, making an apologie for the rest, and saying (r) *These men are not drunken, as ye suppose*: it must needs be that others, besides the twelve, and indeed all the company were suspected of it. Adde, as by way of surplusage, and *ex abundanti*, that the *Seven* chosen by the multitude to *serve the Tables*, (s) who questionlesse were of the number of the *Seventy*, are said to have beene (t) *full of the Holy Ghost*, before that the Apostles had laid hands on them.

(r) Act. 2. 14. 15

(s) Epiphan. *heres.* 20. n. 4.

(t) 1 Act. 6. 3.

### III.

So then it is most evident, as I conceive it, that the *Holy Ghost* was given to every one of the Disciples, the whole number of them: to every one according to his place, and station; according to that service and imployment, in which the Lord intended to make use of him. For (u) *unto one was given by the spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge, and to another the gift of healing by the same spirit: to another the working of miracles, to another prophesie, to another discerning of spirits, to another divers kinds of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues.* Every one of them had their severall gifts; the *Apostles* all (x) *ἐν πνεύματι ὡς ἑαυτοῖς ἐκέρταται* *χαρισματά*, as wee read in *Chrysostome*. What ever was divided amongst the residue, for the advance-

(u) 1 Cor. 12. 8, 9, 10.

(x) *Hon.* 32. in 1. ad Cor. 6. 12.

ment of Gods glory, and the improvement of his Church, that was united in the persons of the holy *Apostles*: whom God had ranked as much above them in their gifts and graces, as they were in place. By meanes whereof it came to passe, that howsoever the Lord out of these 120. made choyce of some to be *Evangelists*, some to be *Prophets*, and others to be *Pastors*, *Presbyters*, and *Teachers*: yet the *Apostles* still retained their superiority, ordering and directing them in their severall Ministeries, to the best edifying of the Church. For thus we read how *Paul* disposed of *Timothy* and *Titus*, who were both *Evangelists*: sending them, as the occasions of the Church required, from *Asia* to *Greece*, and then backe to *Asia*, and thence to *Italy*. How he sent (y) *Crescens* to *Galatia*, *Titus* to *Dalmatia*, *Tychicus* to *Ephesus*: commanding *Eraustus* to abide at *Corinth*, and using the ministerie of *Luke* at *Rome*. So find wee how hee (z) ordered those that had the spirit of *Prophecie*, & such as had the *gift of tongues*; that every one might use his talent unto *edification*: how he ordained *Bishops* in one place, *Elders* or *Presbyters* in another, as wee shall see hereafter in this following story. The like wee may affirme of Saint *Peter* also, and of the rest of the *Apostles*, though there be lesse left

(y) 2 Tim 4.

(z) 1 Cor. 14.

left upon record of their Acts, and Writings, than are remaining of Saint *Paul*: whole mouthes and penne being guided by the *Holy Ghost*, have beene the *Canon* ever since of all saving truth. For howsoever *Marke* and *Luke* two of the *Evangelists*, have left behind them no small part of the booke of God, of their owne enditing: yet were not either of their writings reckoned as *Canonicall* in respect of the Authors, but as they had beene taken from the *Apostles* mouthes, and ratified by their authority, as both (a) Saint *Luke* himselfe, and (b) the Fathers testifie. And for a further mark of difference, betweene the *Apostles* and the rest of the *Disciples*, wee may take this also: that though the rest of the *Disciples* had all received the *Holy Ghost*, yet none could give the same but the *Apostles* only. Insomuch that when *Philip* the *Evangelist* had preached the Gospel in *Samaria*, (c) and converted many, and baptized them in the name of the Lord *Jesus Christ*; yet none of them received the *Holy Ghost* till *Peter* and *John* (d) came down unto them, and prayed for them, and laid their hands on them, as the Scriptures witness. That was a priviledge reserved to the *Apostles*, and to none but them.

(e) ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα ἁγίου μόνον δίδωκε ἡν, as it is in *Chrysostome*. And when the two *Apostles*

(a) *Luk. i.*

(b) *Hieron. in Marc. Clemens apud Euseb. l. 2. c. 15.*

(c) *Act. 8. 12.*

(d) *v. 14, 15, 17.*

(e) *Hon. 18. in Ait. 8.*

## IV.

did it, they did it without *Philips* helpe or cooperation, who joyned not in it, nor contributed at all to so great a worke, for ought we find in holy Scripture.

(f) 1 Cor. 12.  
28.

(g) *Hon.* 32. 18  
1. 2. 1 Cor. 12.

(h) 1 Cor. 12.  
22, 23.

In this regard it is no marvell, if in the enumerating of those ministrations, which did concur in the first founding of the Church, the Apostles alwaies have preheminence. (f) *First, Apostles; secondarily, Prophets; thirdly, Teachers, &c.* as Saint Paul hath ranked them. Nor did he ranke them so by chance, but gave to every one his proper place, *αὐτῶν τὸ ἀξίωμα*, saith Saint (g) *Chrysostome*, first placing that which was most excellent, and afterwards descending unto those of a lower ranke. Which plainly shewes, that in the composition of the Church, there was a *prius*, and *posterius* in regard of order, a *αὐτῶν τῶν*, or more honourable, as the Father calls it, in regard of power: as in the constitution of the body naturall, to which the Church is there resembled, some of the members do direct, and some obey, some of them being *honourable*, some *feeble*, but all *necessary*. The like may also be observed out of the 4. chap. of the same *Apostle* unto the *Ephesians*: where the *Apostles* are first placed, and ranked above the rest of the ministrations, *Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers*: of which some were to be but temporary



porary in the Church of God: the others to remain for ever. For as Saint (i) *Chrysostome* doth exceeding well expound that "Scripture, Πρώτοι Ἀποστόλοις, first, he doth name *Apostles*, as they in whom all powers and graces were united: Secondly, *Prophets*, such as was *Agabus* in the *Acts*: thirdly, *Evangelists*, οἱ μὴ ἀεὶ ὄντες παρ-  
 " τυχόντες, such as had made no progresse in-  
 " to many countries, but preached the Go-  
 " spell in some certaine Regions, as *Aqui-*  
 " *la*, and *Priscilla*: and then *Pastors*, and  
 " *Teachers*, who had the government of a  
 " Country or Nation, οἱ ἀεὶ ὄντες ἐν ἐκκλησίαις,  
 " such as were settled, & employed in a cer-  
 " taine place or City, as *Timothy* and *Titus*.  
 If then a question should be made, whom *S. Paul* meaneth here by *Pastors* and *Teachers*; I answer it is meant of *Bishops*, οἱ ἀεὶ ὄντες ἐν ἐκ-  
 " κλησίαις, as the Father hath it, such as were  
 placed over some certaine Cities: and that the *Bishops* were accounted in the ancient times, the onely ordinary *Pastors* of the Church, in the roome, and stead of the *Apostles*, (k) we shall shew hereafter. And this I am the rather induced to thinke, because that in the first Epistle to those of *Co-*  
*rinth*, written when as there were but few *Bishops* of particular Cities, Saint *Paul* doth speake of *Teachers* onely; but here in this to the *Ephesians*, writ at such time as *Ti-*  
*mothy*,

(i) *Hom. 11. in Ep. 4.*

(k) *Chap. 6 n.*

(l) *Therph. a*  
*Oecum. in Epist.*  
4 + 11.

(m) *Hieron. in*  
*Epist. 4*

V.

(n) *Act. 2. 41. 47*

(o) *Act 3. 2.*

(p) *Act. 4. 4.*

*methy*, and *Titus*, and many others had formerly beene ordained *Bishops*, hee addes *Pastors* also. Certaine I am that both *Theophylact*, (l) and *Oecumenius* do expound the words by *Bishops* onely, τοῖς τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πατέρεσσι, τοῖς ἐπισκοπίς, such *Bishops* as both *Timothy* and *Titus* were by them accounted. Nay even (m) *Saint Hierome* seemeth to incline this way, making the Prelates of the Church, or the *Præsides Ecclesiae*, as he calls them there, to be the *Pastors* and *Teachers* mentioned by *Saint Paul*: i. e. *Pastores ovium*, *magistros hominum*, *Pastors*, in reference to their *Flocks*, *Teachers* in reference to their *Disciples*.

But to goe on unto our story. Our Saviour having thus enabled and supplied his labourers with the gifts and graces of his Spirit, it could not be but that the harvest went on a pace. (n) The first day added to the Church 3000. soules. And after that, God added daily to it such as should be saved. The miracle wrought by the hands of the two Apostles at the (o) Beautiful gate, opened a large dore to the further increase thereof. For presently upon the same, and *Peters* Sermon made upon that occasion, we find that the (p) number of the men which heard the word and beleevved, was about five thousand. Not that there were so many added to the former number, as to make up five

five thousand in the totall: but that there were five thousand added to the Church, more than had beene formerly: (q) Saint Chrysostome, and Oecumenius both affirming, that there were more converted by this second Sermon of Saint Peters, than by the first. So that the Church increasing daily more and more, (r) *multitudes both of men and women* being continually added to the Lord; and their numbers growing dreadfull to the Jewish Magistrates: it seemed good to the Apostles, (who by the intimation of the Spirit found that there would be worke enough else where) to choose one or other of their sacred number, to be the Bishop of that Church, and take charge thereof. And this they did not now by lots, but in the ordinary course and manner of election, pitching on James the sonne of Alphaeus, who in regard of consanguinity is sometimes called in Scripture (s) the Lords brother, and in regard of his exceeding piety, and uprightnesse, was surnamed the Just. Which action I have placed here, even in the cradle of the Church, upon good authority. For first, (t) Eusebius tels us out of Clemens, that this was done μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ σωτῆρος, after the ascension of our Saviour; (u) Hierome more plainly; *statim post passionem Domini*, immediately upon his passion. We may with good security conclude

(q) Chrys. hom.  
10. in Act. 4. &  
10. 25. in Act.  
11.

(r) Act. 5. 14.  
Verf. 26.

(s) Gal. 1. 19.

(t) Euseb. s. hist.  
l. 2. c. 1.

(u) in S. p. Ec.  
cles.

(x) *Ignat. in ep.  
ad Trall.*

clude from both, that it was done not long after *Christs* Ascension, as soone almost as the beleivers were increased to a considerable number. And lastly, that (x) *Ignatius* hath made Saint *Stephen* to be the Deacon, or subservient Minister to this *James* the Bishop of *Hierusalem*: and then wee must needs place it in some middle time betwene the feast of *Pentecost*, and the 26. of *December*, when Saint *Stephen* was martyred. So early did the Lord take care to provide *Bishops* for his Church, and set apart a speciall *Pastor* for his holy City.

## VI.

(y) *Gal. I. 18,*  
19.

(z) *Hic i. Gal.*  
1.

'Tis true, there is no manifest record hereof in *holy Scripture*, but then withall it is as true, that in the *Scripture* there are many pregnant circumstances, whereon the truth hereof may well be grounded. (y) Saint *Paul* some three yeares after his conversion, went up unto *Hierusalem* to see *Peter*, but found no other of the *Apostles* there, save onely *James the Lords brother*. Aske *Hierome*, who this *James* was, whom Saint *Paul* then saw, and he will tell you, that it was *James* the Bishop of *Hierusalem*. (z) *Hic autem Jacobus Episcopus Hierosolymorum primus fuit, cognomento Justus*. And then withall we have the reason why *Paul* should find him at *Hierusalem*, more than the rest of the *Apostles*: viz. because the rest of the *Apostles* were dispersed abroad, cording

according to the exigence of their occasions; and *James* was there residing on his *Pastorall*, or *Episcopall* charge. (a) *Fourteene* (a) Gal. 21. 1.  
*yeares* after his conversion, being the eleventh yeare after the former enterview, he went up into *Hierusalem* againe, with *Barnabas* and *Titus*: and was together present with them at the first generall Councell held by the *Apostles*. In which, upon the agitation of the businesse there proposed, the Canon and determination is drawne up positively and expressely, in (b) the (b) Act. 15. 20.  
 words of *James*. Do you desire the reason of it, *Peter* and others being there? *Chrysostome* on those words of Scripture, (c) (c) Act. 15. 13.  
*James answered saying*, doth expresse it thus; (d) *ἐπὶ τοῦ* (d) Hom. 33. in Act. c. 15. v. 23.  
*James* was Bishop of *Hierusalem*. And this no question was the reason, why *Paul* reciting the names of those with whom especially he had conference at his being there, puts (e) *James* in the first place before (e) Galat. 2. 9.  
*Peter* and *John*; viz. because that he was Bishop ther, as *Estius* hath noted on that text. The Councell being ended, *Paul* returneth to *Antioch*, and there by reason of some men that came from (f) *James*, *Peter* withdrew, (f) Ver. 12.  
 and separated himselfe, *eating no longer with the Gentiles*. Why takes the Apostle such especiall notice that they came from *James*, but because they were sent from him, as  
 H from

(g) Theoph. &  
Oecum. in Gal. 2.

(h) Act. 1. 18.

(i) Chrysoft.  
hom. 46. in Act.

## VII.

(k) Ignat. ep. ad  
Trallian.

(l) Hieron. in  
ac.

from their Bishop, about some businesse of the Church: this *James* being then Bishop of *Hierusalem*, [ἐπίσκοπος Ἱερουσαλὴμ] as both (g) *Theophylact* and *Oecumenius* note upon the place. Finally, nine yeares after this, being the 58. of Christs nativitie, *Paul* makes his last journey to *Hierusalem*: still he findes *James* there. (h) And the day following *Paul* went in with us unto *James*, &c. as the text informes us. *Chrysostome* notes upon the place, that *James* there spoken of was the Lords brother, ἐπίσκοπος Ἱερουσαλὴμ, and Bishop of *Hierusalem*. So that for 20. yeares together, we have apparent evidence in Scripture of *James* residing at *Hierusalem*: and that as Bishop there, as the Fathers say.

For that Saint *James* was Bishop of *Hierusalem*, there is almost no ancient Writers but beares witness of it. (k) *Ignatius*, who was made Bishop of *Antiochia* within eight yeares after the death and martyrdom of this *James* in their account, who place it latest, makes *Stephen* to be the Deacon of this *James*, as *Clemens* and *Anacletus* were to *Peter*: which is an implication that *James* was Bishop of *Hierusalem*, out of which City we do not find that *Stephen* ever travelled. *Egesippus*, who lived neere the Apostles times, makes this *James* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, as both Saint (l) *Hierome* and



and (m) *Eusebius* have told us from him. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* not long after him, doth affirme the same. And out of him and other monuments of antiquity, *Eusebius* doth assure us of him, *Πρῶτον τῆς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὺς ἐκκλησίας ἡ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐν χειρὶ Δυνάμει θεσθέν*, (o) that hee was the first that held the *Episcopall* throne or chaire in the Church of *Hierusalem*. (p) Saint *Cyrill* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, speakes of him as of his Predecessour, [ *πατρὶς τῆς ἐκκλησίας* ] in that Church: (q) ἐπὶ *κρίσεως* ἡ πρώτη τῆς πατριαρχίας ταύτης, as the first Bishop of that Diocesse. And *Epiphanius* for his greater credit, makes him not onely the first Bishop that ever was, *Hares. 29. n. 3.* but Bishop of the Lords owne throne: (r) ὁ πιστεύων καὶ ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, and that too by the Lords appointment. S. *Ambrose* doth assigne this reason, why *Paul* going unto *Hierusalem* to see *Peter*, should find *James* there, (s) *quia illic constitutus erat Episcopus ab Apostolis*, because that by the rest of the Apostles hee was made Bishop of the place. Saint *Hierome* (t) doth not onely affirme as much, as for his being Bishop of *Hierusalem*, but also doth lay downe the time of his creation, to be not long after our Redeemers passion: as we saw before. Saint (u) *Chrysostome*, besides what was alleaged from him in the former section, tels in his Homilies

(m) *Euseb. l. 4. c. 21.*

(n) *Apud Euseb. l. 2. c. 1.*

(o) *Ibid. l. 7. c. 14.*

(p) *Catech. 4. cap. de cibus.*

(q) *Catech. 14.*

(r) *Epiph. adv. hares. 78 n. 7.*

(s) *Ambros. in Gal. 1.*

(t) *De Scriptor. Eccles.*

(u) *Hom. ult. in Iob.*

(1) An. 34. n. 251

(1) Cap 37.

(2) Concil. Constant. in Can 32

on Saint *Johns* Gospell, ἐπὶ ἱερουζαλὴμ τὴν δεξιὰν ἔλαβεν τῆς ἱερωσύνης, that Saint *James* had the Bishopricke of *Hierusalem*. Where by the way I cannot but take notice of a lewd forgery, or at the best a grosse mistake of *Baronius*, who to advance the Sovereignty of the Church of *Rome* (x) will have this *James* to take the Bishopricke of *Hierusalem* from Saint *Peters* hands; and cites this place of *Chrysostome* for prooffe thereof. But surely *Chrysostome* saith no such matter: for putting the question, how *James* was made the Bishop of *Hierusalem*, since *Pasce oves meas* was said to *Peter*: returns this answer, τῷ πνὶ τῷ δεξιῷ, ἀλλὰ τὸ οἰκουμενικόν, that Christ made *Peter* not the Pastor of a particular place, but of all the universe. That *James* received his Bishopricke from *Peter*, not one word saith *Chrysostome*: 'Tis true, the *Latin* reads it as the *Cardinall* doth; But such an undertaker as hee was, should have sought the fountaines. As for Saint *Austin*, he agrees herein with the other Fathers, in his second booke against *Cresconius*: (y) where speaking of the Church of *Hierusalem*, he describes it thus, *quam primus Apostolus Jacobus Episcopatu suo rexit*, whereof Saint *James* the Apostle was the first Bishop. Adde here the joynt consent and suffrage of 289. Prelates in the sixth (z) General councell of *Constantinople*, affirming *James*

*James* the Lords brother to be the first Bishop of *Hierusalem*: not to say any thing of *Oecumenius*, and *Theophylact*, whom before we cited. Never was point in issue tried by a fuller evidence.

And yet one other circumstance occurs to confirme the point, which is, that till *Eusebius* time, (a) the chaire, or *Cathedra Episcopalis*, wherein Saint *James* was said to be inthroned, was very carefully preserved by his successours, as a sacred monument, and gladly shewed to all that desired to see it: *οὐτὸς τοῖς πιστοῖς ἐμφέρουσιν*, as the Author hath it. An evidence of no meane consideration, as being vouched by an author that lived before the superstitious reverence and esteeme of Reliques had beene introduced into the world; or any impostures of that kind put upon the people. Unto which testimony of *Eusebius*, we may adde that of *Beda* also, (b) who in his *Martyrologie* doth place the memoriall or cōmemoration of the Apostles inthronizing in that chaire or throne, upon the 27. of *December*: wherein I dare not joyne with him as unto the day. though I approve his observation of the fact or ceremony, as being every way conforme to the ancient custome of the Church. One onely thing I have to adde, and rectifie, which concernes *S. James*, & is briefly thus. *S. Hierome* (c) tels

## VIII.

(a) *Eccles. hist. l. 7. c. 14.*

(b) *Beda Martyrol. Decemb. 28*

(c) *Hieron. de Script. Eccles.*

us out of *Egesippus*, *huic soli licitum esse ingredi Sancta sanctorum*; that it was onely lawfull to Saint *James* to enter into the *Holy of Holies*: whereas in truth it should not be *huic soli licitum*, but *huic solitum*. And this appeares to be the true and ancient reading, by comparing the translation of *Sophronius*, with Saint *Hieromes* text: wherein we have it ἰδὼς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ αἰ Καλδῶν, &c. that it was his custome so to doe: the *Jewes* permitting him to enjoy that privilege, in the declining times of their State and Temp'le, by reason of the holinesse of his conversation. Finally, to conclude with *Hierome*, (d) this blessed man of God was martyred in the 7. yeare of *Nero* (*An. Chr. 63.*) *postquam triginta annos Hierosolymis rexerat Ecclesiam*: after hee had beene Bishop of *Hierusalem* 30. yeares, that is to say, 29. yeares compleat, and the 30. current. By which account it must needs follow, that the making of this *James* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, was one of the first actions of the *Apostles*, after they were endued with the *Holy Ghost*.

## IX.

*James* being dead, *Simeon* another of the Lords disciples, was made the Bishop of that Church, *Peter*, and *Paul*, and *John*, and many other of the *Apostles*, being then alive, and all concurring in this choyce, and consenting to it. (e) *Eusebius*, as he tels the story,

(d) *Id. ibid.*(e) *Euseb. list. Eccl. l. 3. c. 10.*

story, makes it a very solemne businesse, scarce such another *Precedent* to be found in all antiquity. And he relates it thus, as followeth: *Μετὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν, &c.* After the martyrdom of *James*, & the taking of *Hierusalem* (by the *Romans*) it is affirmed that the *Apostles* and Disciples of our Lord and Saviour which were yet alive, together with those of the Lords kindred after the flesh, many of whom continued living till that time, resorted thither. Their businesse was to enter into consultation, *τίνα καὶ τῶν Ιερουσαλὴμιτῶν*, whom they should find most worthy to succeed in the place of *James*: and having well considered of it, they all with one accord, *ὁμοθυμαδὸν*, saith that Author, agreed on *Simeon* the sonne of *Cleophas*, one of our Saviours kindred also, (f) as fit and worthy to possesse the Episcopall Throne, and looke unto the government of that Church or Diocesse. So that in this election there did not onely meete together the *Lords kindred*, who might perhaps desire to keepe that holy honour in their owne family; nor the Disciples onely of the lower ranke, who might perhaps be easily induced to consent thereto, to gratifie the kindred of their Lord and Master: but there met also the *Apostles*, men guided and directed by the Spirit of God: and all of these comming from

(f) τὸ ἑ αὐτὸ.  
 δι' ἀποστολῶν,  
 ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἔειπεν.  
 Id. Ibid.

from severall parts and countries did, *ἁπλοῦς ὁρμή*, with one accord, with one unanimous assent, agree upon the choyce of this worthy man, to be the *Bishop* or chiefe Pastor of the mother City, which place he held untill the time of *Trajan*, during whose Empire he received the crowne of Martyrdome, Anno 109.

X.

Here then we have two *Bishops* of *Hierusalem*, made by the generall and joynt consent of the *Apostles*: and those two *Bishops* not in name and title, but in power and office; according to the *Ecclesiasticall notion* of the word, and as the same is taken in the writings of the *Fathers* before alleaged. I know the word *Episcopus*, in the primitive and proper notion doth signifie a *supervisor* or *over-seer*, as it is rendred in our last translation, *Act. 20.4*. Such were the officers of the *Athenians* (g) whom *Suidas* speakes of, sent by that State to looke into the government of the Cities under their dominion; ὅς ἐστι κοπιεὺς οὐλῆας ἐκαστοῦ. And these, saith hee, were called *Bishops*, and guardians. In this last sense the word is often used by *Plutarch*, (h) as where he calleth *Numa*, ἐπίσκοπος, the *Bishop* or guardian of the *Vestall virgins*; and their God *Terminus*, ἐπίσκοπος ἢ φύλαξ ριχίας καὶ εἰρήνης, the *Overseer* and preserver of peace and amity. Thus do wee read in *Sophocles* of

(g) *Suidas* in *Episcopo*.

(h) *Plutarch*, in *Numa*.



of certaine officers called *τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιμεληταί*,  
 such as took care about the dead: of others  
 in the civill laws, *qui pani, & ceteris rebus ve-*  
*nalibus præsunt*, which had the oversight of  
 the markets, and those called *Episcopi*. And  
 thus doth *Tully* tell us of himselfe, (k) *Vult*  
*me Pompeius episcopum esse, &c.* that *Pompey*  
 had made him the overseer, or the guardian  
 of *Cāpania*, & the whole sea-coast. This be-  
 ing the meaning of the word in its native  
 sēle, it pleased the *holy Ghost* to make choice  
 thereof, to signifie the *Pastor* or *superiour Mi-*  
*nister*, to whom the governance of the  
 Church was trusted; one who was vested  
 with a cōstant & fixed preheminence, as wel  
 over the Clergie, as the Laity, committed to  
 his charge; such as both *Timothy*, & *Titus* are  
 described to be, in *S. Pauls* epistles, (l) of who  
 we shall say more hereafter. *S. Austin* right-  
 ly understood the word, & the originall; of  
 it, (m) when he told us this. *Græcum est enim,*  
*atque inde ductum vocabulum, quod ille qui*  
*præficitur, eis quibus præficitur superintēdit, &c.*  
 The word, saith he, is *Greek* originally, and  
 from thence derived, shewing that he which  
 is preferred, or set over others, is bound to  
 take the oversight and care of those whom  
 hee is set over. And so proceeding unto  
 the *Etymologie*, or grammar of the word,  
 he concludes it thus, *ut intelligat se non esse*  
*Episcopum, qui præesse dilexerit, non prodesse,*

(i) *LL. Mure-*  
*rum.*

(k) *Cicero ad*  
*Anicum. l. 7.*

*l. V. Chap. 3.*

(m) *Deciv. Dei.*  
*l. 19. c. 19.*

that hee deserves not to be called a *Bishop*, which seeketh rather to preferre himselfe, than to profit others. Saint *Austin*, being himselfe a *Bishop*, knew well the meaning of the word, according to the *Ecclesiasticall notion*, and sense thereof. And in that notion, the Scriptures generally, and all the *Fathers* universally have used the same: out of which word *Episcopus* (whether *Greek*, or *Latine*) the *Germans* had their *Bishop*, & we thence our *Bishop*. If sometimes in the holy Scripture, the word be used to signifie an ordinarie *Presbyter*, it is at such times, and such places only, when as the *Presbyters* had the chiefe governance of the flocks, next & immediately under the *Apostles*, and where there was no *Bishop*, properly so called, established over them: as we shall see hereafter in the Churches of *S. Pauls* plantation.

## XI.

Having thus seene the sudden, and miraculous growth of the Church of God, in, and about the City of *Hierusalem*; and seene the same confirmed and settled in *Episcopall* government: our next enquirie must be made into the *Clergie*, which were to be subordinate to him, and to participate of the charge to him entrusted, according to his directions. And in this search, we first encounter with the *Presbyters*, the first, as well in time, as they are in dignity. The *Deacon*, though exceeding ancient, yet comes

comes short in both. We shewed you in the former chapter, how our Redeemer having chosen the Twelve *Apostles*, appointed other *Seventy* also, and sent them two and two before him, to prepare his way. Of these the Lord made choyce (n) of some to be *Evangeliſts*, and others to be *Prophets*, some to be *Pastors*, and *Teachers*, and others to be *helpes in Government*, according to the measure, and the purpose of his grace bestowed upon them, in the effusion of his spirit. And out of these thus fitted and prepared for the worke of God, I doubt not but there were some chosen to assist *S. James*, in the discharge of the great trust committed to him, by the common counsell, and consent of the *Apostles*. Such as were after added unto them, according to the exigences of that Church, I take it to be all of *Saint James* ordaining: who being a *Bishop*, and *Apostle*, is not to be denied the privilege of ordaining *Presbyters*, it being a thing which both the *Apostle Paul* did doe in all the Churches which he planted, and all succeeding *Bishops* since have done in their severall *Dioceses*. Certaine it is, that there were *Presbyters* in the Church of *Hierusalem*, before the election of the Seven: (o) *Ignatius* telling us that *Stephen* did minister, *ἡτοιμασεν τὸν ἱεροβουλῆν, &c.* to *James*, and to the *Presbyters*, which were in *Hierusalem*.

(n) 1 Cor. 12.  
& Eph. 4.8.

(o) *Ignat. ep. ad  
Heron.*

(n) *Hier. ad Fabielam.*

(p) *De Rep. Eccles. l. 2. c. 2 n. 6.*

(q) *Concil. Neo-Casar. Can. 13.*

(r) *Beda in Luk. 10.*

## XII.

*salem.* And certaine also it is, that the *Apostles* first, and *Bishops* afterwards ordained *Presbyters*, to be assistant with them, and subservient to them, in their severall charges: and this they did, according as the Fathers say, in imitation of our Lord and Saviour, who having chose his twelve *Apostles*, appointed *Seventy others* of a lower ranke, (n) *Secundos Christi Discipulos*, as S. *Hierome* calls them. Not that the *Presbyters* of the Church do succeed the *Seventy*, who were not founded in a perpetuity by our Saviour *Christ*, (p) as the *Archbishop* of *Spalato* hath well observed: but onely that they had a resemblance to them, & were ordained εις τὸ πονεῖν ἐξουσίαν, (q) as the Council of *Neo-Casarea* affirmed before, as secondary and subservient Ministers in the Church of God. And this is that which *Beda* tels us in his *Comment* on the Gospel of Saint *Luke* (r) that as the Twelve *Apostles* did premonstrate the forme of *Bishops*, so the *Presbyters* did beare the figure of the *Seventy*.

Another resemblance betweene the *Presbyters* and the *Seventy* may perhaps be this, that as our Saviour in the choycing of these disciples related to the number of the *Elders* in the state of *Jewrie*: so the *Apostles* thought it fit to give unto the *Ministers* thus by them ordained ( though they regarded not

not the number) the name of *Elders*, according to the custome of that State before. *Presbyters*, they are called in the *Greeke* originalls, which being often rendred *Seniores* in the vulgar *Latine*, occasioned that our first Translatours (who perhaps looked no further than the *Latine*) turned it into *Elders*: though I could heartily have wished they had retained the name of *Presbyters*, as the more proper, and specificall word of the two, by farre. But for these *Presbyters* of the Church of *Hierusalem* (from whencesoever they may borrow or derive their name) we find thrice mention of them in the Booke of the *Acts*, during the time Saint *James* was Bishop, viz. in the 11. 15. 21. In the first place we read, that when the *Disciples* which dwelt at *Antioch*, had made a contribution for the brethren of *Judea*, (f) they sent it to the *Elders* there by the hands of *Barnabas* and *Saul*. Aske (r) *Oecumenius* who these *Elders* were, and he will tell you, ἐπὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔχον ἄξίαν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι, that they were the *Apostles*. And like enough it is, that the *Apostles* may be comprehended in that generall name; they being indeed the elder brethren. Aske (u) *Calvin* why this contribution was sent unto the *Presbyters* or *Elders*, being there were particular officers appointed to attend the poore, as is set downe in the 6. Chap. of the *Acts*; and he

(f) Act. 11. ult.

(r) Cap. 19. in Act. Apostol.

(u) In Act. 11.

(x) v. 18. 19. &amp;c.

(y) Chryf. in  
Act. 21.

he will tell you, that the *Deacons* were so appointed over that businesse, that notwithstanding they were still inferiour unto the *Presbyters*; *nec quicquam sine eorum auctoritate agerent*, and were not to do any thing therein without their authority. So for that passage in the 21. S. *Luke* (x) relates how *Paul*, at his last going to *Hierusalem*, went in unto *James*; and that all the *Elders* were present; and addes withall, what counsell and advice they gave him, for his ingratiating with the *Jewes*. Here find we *James* the Bishop attended by his *Presbyters*, at the reception of Saint *Paul*: and they together joyning with him in the consultation then in hand, the businesse being great and weighty. And therefore *Chrysostome* (y) observes, *ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ διακόνους διαβίβει*, that *James* determined nothing in it, as a Bishop, of his sole authority: but tooke *Paul* into counsell with him: and that the *Presbyters* on the other side, carried themselves with great respect and reverence towards him, [*αὐτῷ καταβίβει*] giving him an account, or reason of their following counsell. The Bishop never sit and in a firmer chaire, than when his Chapter doth support it.

## XIII.

But that which is indeed the matter of the greatest moment, is that which doth occur in the 15. chapter of the *Acts*, touching the *Counsell* of *Hierusalem*: wherein the



the *Presbyters* are so often mentioned, as if without their presence and assistance, the *Apostles* had beene able to determine nothing. Some would faine have it so perhaps, but it will not be. Saint *Paul* was so assured of the doctrine by him delivered, as not to put it to the triall of a mortall man: and the *Apostles* of a spirit so infallible in the things of God, as not to need the counsell and assistance of inferiour persons. How many points of doctrine did Saint *Paul* determine without repairing to the *Apostles*? how many did the *Apostles* preach and publish without consulting with the *Presbyters*? Somewhat there must be in it more than ordinary, which did occasion this conjuncture, and is briefly this. Some of the *Jewes* which had but newly beene initiated in the faith of *Christ*, and were yet very zealous of their ancient ceremonies, (2) came from *Hierusalem* to *Antiochia*; and there delivered doctrines contrary unto those which *Paul* taught before. It seemes there were some *Presbyters* amongst them, for it is said, they taught the people: and they pretended too, that they did teach no other doctrine, than that which had beene authorized by the *Apostles*. The doctrine was, that except men would be circumcised after the manner of *Moses*, they could not be saved. *Paul* might have over-ruled this case, by

(2) Act. 15. 1.

(a) Gal. 2. 2.

by his owne authority. But partly for the satisfaction of the *Antiochians*, and partly for the full conviction of these *false teachers*, he was content, by revelation (a) of the *Spirit*, to put the matter over to the resolution of such of the *Apostles* as were then abiding in *Hierusalem*: that by their generall attestation, they might confirme his doctrine to be sound, and true. As for the *Presbyters*, it concerned them to be present also, as well to cleare themselves from authorizing any such *false brethren* to disturbe the Church, as to prevent the like disorders in the time to come. This is the summe of the proceedings in this businesse. And this doth no way interest the *Presbyters* in the determination of points of faith, further then as they are concerned either in having beene a means to pervert the same; or for the clearing of themselves from the like suspicions. And yet I cannot but affirme withall, that pure and primitive antiquity did derive from hence the forme, and manner of their *Councils*: in which the *Presbyters* did oftentimes concur, both for voyce and hand, I meane as well in giving of their suffrages, as the subscription of their names. Certaine I am (b) that in the Councell held in *Arragon*, An. 490. or thereabout, it was provided among other things, *ut non solum à Cathedralibus,*

(b) *Council. Tarracon. Can. 13.**verum*

*verum etiam de Diocesanis*: that certaine Presbyters should be chosen, as well out of the *Diocesan*, as the *Cathedrall* Churches, to attend that service; and that the *Metropolitan* should send out his letters unto that effect: according as is still observed in holding of the *Convocation* of the Church of *England*.

Next to the constituting of the *Presbyters* in time and order, was the election of the *Seven*; and this the *Apostles* did put over to the people onely: not intermeddling in the same at all, further than in commending them to the grace of God, that they might faithfully discharge the trust committed to them. The Church was then in that condition, that the Disciples lived in one place together, (c) and *had all things common*: some of them selling their estates, and laying downe the price thereof at the *Apostles* feete, that by them it might be distributed as occasion was. But being it fell out, (d) that some did thinke themselves neglected in the distribution, the *Apostles*, both to free themselves of so great a trouble, as also to avoid suspicion of being partiall in the businesse, required them (e) to make choyce of such trusty men, as they conceived most fit to be the Stewards of their goods, and the dispensers of the common stocke. This was the charge

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(c) Act. 4. 32,  
34. 35.

(d) Act 6. 1.

(e) Act. 6. 3.

charge the *Seven* were called to by the people: which being no *Ecclesiasticall function*, but a *Civill* trust; no dispensation of the Word and Sacraments, but a dispositive power of the common treasure: it was most consonant to the rules of reason, that the election of them should be left to the people onely. I know these *Seven* are commonly both called, and accounted *Deacons*: but I find no such thing in the texts, or story. Neither in that chapter, nor in all the *Acts*, is the word *Deacon* to be found: nor find I either *Stephen* or *Philip* (of whom the Scripture is most copious) to be so intitled. *Philip* indeed is called (f) *unus de septem*, but no more, *one of the Seven*, but no such stile as *Deacon* added: which makes me thinke their office was not such as it is conceived. And this I am the rather induced to thinke, because I find Saint *Chrysostome*, and others of the same opinion. Saint (g) *Chrysostome* putting it unto the question, what dignity or office these men had, what ordination they received, and namely, whether that of *Deacons*; makes answer first, that in his time the use was otherwise, the *Presbyters* being there intrusted with the distribution of the Churches treasure, and then concludeth, *ἐν διακονίᾳ, ἐν ἐπισκοπῇ; οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ διακονία, οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ ἐπισκοπή*, that it appeared not in his opinion, that they were either *Presbyters*,

(f) *Act* 21. 8.

(g) *Horn*. 14. in  
*Act* 6.

byters, or *Deacons*. The Fathers of the sixt Councell in *Constantinople* (b) building upon those words of *Chrysostome*, do affirme the same; determining expressly that those *Seven* mentioned in the *Acts*, were not ordained to any ministracion at the *Lords Table*, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις τῆς τραπέζης, but onely to the service and attendance of the *Common Tables*. In which regard (i) *Saint Hierome* looking backe unto the primitive institution, doth call the *Deacons* of his time, *mensarum & viduarum Ministros*, in his Epistle to *Evagrius*. For howsoever I beleieve not, on my former ground, that the *Seven* spoken of in the *Acts*, had either the office or the name of *Deacons*, as it was used afterwards in the Church of God: yet I deny not but the Church tooke some hint from hence, even in the times of the *Apostles*, to institute that holy order, & to appoint it to some speciall ministry in Gods publique service: as doth appeare both by the Epistles of *Saint Paul*, and the Records of primitive and pure antiquity. That *Philip* did both preach the Gospell, and baptize the converts; or that *Stephen* did both preach the Gospell, and convince the adversarie: related not to any power or faculty which they received by the addition or accessse of this new office. For being they, and all the residue were of

(b) *Council. in Trullo, Can. 16.*

(i) *Hieron. in epist. ad Evagr.*

(k) Epiph. ad  
hæres. 20 n. 4.

(l) Act. 6. 3.

XV.

the (k) *Seventy*, as the Fathers say: and that they had received the *Holy Ghost* before, as the (l) Scriptures tell us: their *preaching* and *baptizing*, must relate to their former calling. And it had beene a degradation from their former dignity, being *Presbyters* at the least before, to be made *Deacons* now.

Thus have we seene the instituting of the severall orders of *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, in the holy *Hierarchy*: according to those severall names, which were in tract of time appropriated to their severall functions in the Church of God. And certainly it did require some space of time, to estrange words from their naturall to a borrowed sense, to bring them to an *Ecclesiasticall*, from a *Civill* notion. So that it is no wonder, if at first the names and appellations of these severall functions were used promiscuously, before that time had limited and restrained them to that expresse and settled signification which they still retaine. That glorious name of an *Apostle*, which of it selfe did signifie a *Messenger*, (*Græcè Apostoli*, *Latine Misi* appellatur, (m) as Saint *Austin* hath it) was given by Christ as a peculiar name to his twelve Disciples. And yet we find it sometimes given to inferiour persons, as to (n) *Andronicus* and *Junius*, in the 16. chap. to

(m) Tract. 54. in  
Evang. Johannis.

(n) Rom. 16. 7.



to the *Romans*: sometimes reverting to its primitive and ancient use, as where the *Messengers of the Churches* are called *Apostles*, as (o) in the 2. to those of Corinth, *Apostoli Ecclesiarum gloria Christi*; the Messengers of the Churches are the glory of Christ. So was it also with that reverend and venerable title of *Episcopus*, borrowed and restrained from its generall use, to signifie an *overseer* in the Church of God: one who was trusted with the government, and super-intendencie of the flocke of Christ committed to him: according to the acceptance of the word in the most auient Authors of the Christian Church. And yet sometimes wee find it given unto the *Presbyters*, as in the (p) first of the *Philippians*: in which *Paul* writing to the *Bishops* and *Deacons*, is thought by *Bishops* to meane *Presbyters*: partly because the *Presbyters* had then the government of that Church under the *Apostle*, and partly because it was against the ancient *Apostolicall* constitution, that there should be many *Bishops* (properly so called) in one City. Thus also, for the title *Presbyter*, which by the Church was used to signifie, not as before, an ancient man, which is the native sense, and construction of it; but one in *holy orders*, such as in after times were called by the name of *Priests*: it grew so generall for a while,

(o) Cap. 8. 23.

(p) Cap. 1. v. 1.

(q) *Bez. Annot.*  
in 1 *Pet.* 5. 1.

(r) *Ambros. in*  
1. ad *Tim.* c. 3.

(f) *Phil.* I. 1.

(t) *Rom.* 13. 4.

(u) *Ver.* 1.

as to include both *Bishops*, and *Apostles* also, as (q) *Bez* notes upon the first *Epistle* of *Saint Peter*, chap. 5. And that perhaps upon the reason given by *Ambrose*, (r) *Omnis Episcopus Presbyter, non tamen omnis Presbyter Episcopus*, because that every *Bishop* was a *Presbyter*, although not every *Presbyter* a *Bishop*. And yet sometimes we find in *Scripture*, that it returned unto its primitive, and originall use: as in the first to *Tim.* cap. 5. v. 1. in which *πρεσβυτερος*, is used to signifie an ancient man. *πρεσβυτερα*, an ancient woman, as by the text and context doth at full appeare. The like occurreth sometimes also in the ancient *Writers*. Last of all, for the word *Diaconus*, which in it selfe doth signifie any common Minister, or domesticke servant, the Church made use thereof to denote such men, as served in the inferiour ministeries of the Congregation; such as according to the *Ecclesiasticall* notion of the word we now call *Deacons*, as in (f) the first of the *Philippians*, and in the ancient *Writers* *passim*. Yet did it not so easily put off its originall nature, but that it did sometimes revert to it againe: as in the 13. of the *Romans*, (t) in which the Magistrate is called *Diaconus*, being the publike minister of justice under God Almighty; and *Phaë* in the 16. (u) of the same *Epistle*, is called *δίακονος*, a servant of the Church  
of

of *Cenchrea*. Indeed the marvell is not much that it should be so long before the Church could fasten and appropriate these particular names to the particular officers of, and in the same; considering how long it was before she got a name unto herselfe. The word ἐκκλησία, which is used in Scripture to denote the Church, doth signifie amongst the ancient learned Writers, a meeting or assembly of the people for their common businesse: as (x) μὴ ποιῶν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς θέρξης. Not to omit the *Thracians* to the common Councell. So in *Ar. stophanes*. The like we find also in *Thucidides*, (y) καταστάσης ἐκκλησίας ἀντιλογίαν ἡλθεν, that having constituted the assembly, they fell upon their alterations. The first time that wee find it used to denote the Church, is *Mat. 16. 18.* and after frequently in holy Scripture: yet so, that it returned sometimes to its native sense, as in the 19. of the *Acts*, wherein wee read, τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ συγκαρμένῳ, that the assembly (of the *Ephesians*) was confused, v. 32. and ἀπέλυσε τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ, he dismissed the assembly, v. 41. And therefore they which from identity of names in holy Scripture, conclude identity of offices in the Church of *Christ*; and will have *Presbyter*, and *Episcopus* to be both one calling, because the names are sometimes used promiscuouly in the first beginnings: may with like equity

(x) In *Acharn.*  
*Act. 1* scilicet 4.

(y) *Hist. l. 1.*

equity conclude that every *Deacon* is a Magistrate, and every *Presbyter* an *Apostle*, or that the Church of *Ephesus* was nothing else than an assembly of the *Citizens* in the Towne-hall there, for the dispatch of businesse which concerned the Corporation.



### CHAP. III.

The Churches planted by Saint *Peter*, and his *Disciples*, originally founded in *Episcopacie*.

I. *The founding of the Church of Antioch by Saint Peter; the first Bishop there.*

II. *A reconciliation of the difference about his successors in the same.*

III. *A list of Bishops planted by him in the Churches of the Circumcision.*

IV. *Prooffe thereof from Saint Peters generall Epistle to the Jewes dispersed.*

V. *And from Saint Pauls unto the Hebrewes.*

VI. *Saint Pauls Præpositus, no other than a Bishop, in the opinion of the Fathers.*

VII. *Saint Peter the first Bishop of the Church of Rome.*

VIII. *The*

VIII. *The difference about his next successors there, reconciled also.*

IX. *An answer unto such objections as have beene made against Saint Peters being Bishop of Rome.*

X. *Saint Marke the first Bishop of Alexandria, and of his Successours.*

XI. *Notes on the observations of Epiphanius, and Saint Hierome, about the Church of Alexandria.*

XII. *An observation of Saint Ambrose applied unto the former businesse.*

XIII. *Of Churches founded by Saint Peter, in Italy, France, Germany, and the Isle of Britaine, and of the Bishops in them instituted.*



Ὅμνη, ὡς ἀποστόλων, διὰ τὸν λόγον:

It is the observation of Saint (a) *Chrysostom*, that the Church never thriveth better than in persecutions. And this hee speakes, on the dispersion of the Disciples after the martyrdome of *Stephen*: then which there could not any thing fall out more fortunately, for the advancement of the Gospell. (b) *They which were scattered abroad* (saith the holy Text) *upon the persecution which arose about Stephen, travelled as farre as Phenicie, and Cyprus, and Antioch,*

L

preach-

I.

(a) *Hom. in Act. cap. 11.*

(b) *Act. 11. 19*

preaching the Word to none but the *Jewes* only. At first indeed to none but the *Jews* alone. The Vision had not yet appeared to *Peter*, to authorize his going in unto the *Gentiles*: nor had *Cornelius* and his household, as yet beene made partakers of the Holy Ghost. The *Jewes* were they to whom the promises of God had first been made: who as they were dispersed into many places; so did Gods Word goe after them, and found them out; either converting them unto the Faith, or else convincing them of their incredulity. But in no City of the East were they so thicke set; as in *Antiochia*, the regall seate and City of the Kings of *Syria*: in which by ancient (c) priviledge, first granted by *Seleucus Nicanor*, they were all free Denizens, and enjoyed all immunities whatsoever, with the Greekes and Macedons (d). This made them plant here in great multitudes, together with their Wives and Children: and so by consequence, the greater opportunity was offered for the enlargement of the Church. Newes hereof being brought unto *Hierusalem*, and Peace by that time being settled throughout the Churches, Saint *Peter* (e), as hee passed throughout all quarters, is said to have come downe unto *Antioch* also, and to have undertaken the charge therof; as being the most famous City of the *Easterne* parts.

(c) Ioseph. Antiqu. Iud. l. 12. c. 3.

(d) Ioseph. de Bello Iud. l. 7. c. 24.

(e) Act. 9. 31. 32



parts. It's true, the *Scriptures* tell us nothing of this, but the *Fathers* doe: and negative proofes from Scripture, in a point of History, are of no authority. *Origen* (f) calls *Ignatius, Episcopum Antiochia post Petrum secundum*, the second that was Bishop of *Antioch* after *Peter*: and therefore *Peter* must of necessary consequence be first Bishop there. *Eusebius* (g) saith the same with *Origen*, as to Saint *Peters* being Bishop there, and so doth *Felix* Pope of *Rome*, in the fifth Councell of *Constantinople*, *Actione prima*. But not to trust to consequences onely, though those cleare enough; *Eusebius* (h) in his *Chronicon*, saith expressly, *Petrus Apostolus Ecclesiam Antiochenam fundavit, ibique Cathedram adeptus sedit*, that *Peter* the Apostle founded the Church of *Antioch*, and sate Bishop there. *S. Hierome* (i) doth affirme the same, *Primum Episcopum Antiochena Ecclesia Petrum fuisse*, and makes it one of those things which Saint *Luke* omitted. *Luke* being an attendant of Saint *Paul* in his peregrinations, tooke not such speciall and particular notice of Saint *Peters* actions: and therefore his omission of it is no argument that it was not so. More of Saint *Peters* being Bishop of the Church of *Antioch*, see in the same Saint *Hierome* in his Book *de Ecclesiast. Scriptoribus*: And in Saint *Gregories* (k) *Epistles*, lib. 6. ep. 37.

(f) *Hamil. 6. in Lucan.*

(g) *Euseb. eccl. hist. l. 3. c. 35.*

(h) *Id. in Chron.*

(i) *Hieron. in c. 2. ad Galat.*

(k) *Ipse firmavit sedem in qua septem annis quatuordecim sedis sedit, Greg.*

## II.

(l) *Euseb. in  
Chron.*

(m) *Act. 11. 22.  
Ibid. 25.*

(n) *Ignat. ep. ad  
Magenes.*

where he is said to have continued Bishop there seven yeares; as indeed most authors doe agree.

This founding of the Church of *Antioch* by Saint *Peter*, and his assuming of the Bishopricke or charge thereof, is by *Eusebius* (l) placed in the fourth yeare of the 203 *Olympiad*: which falleth by computation into that 38. yeare of Christs *Nativity*, being the fourth yeare after his *Ascension*. But then withall, we must reſtraine Saint *Peters* Bishopricke in *Antioch*, and his foundation of that Church, only unto the *Jewish* Congregations there. Preaching unto the *Gentiles*, was not yet thought lawfull. And when it was, it pleased God to make choyce of others to promote that worke. Whereof when tidings came unto (m) *Hierusalem*, they sent forth *Barnabas* that hee should goe as farre as *Antioch*: And when he found the taske too great for himſelfe alone, he went to *Tarsus*, ſaith the Text, to ſecke for *Saul*, whom he brought with him to that City. By theſe the gaining of the *Gentiles* in that famous City, was begun and finiſhed. In this regard Saint *Paul* is to be reckoned a co-founder at the leaſt of the Church of *Antioch*; and ſo *Ignatius* (n) doth account them; in his *Epistle* to the *Magenſians*, where he relateth that the *Disciples* were firſt called *Chriſtians* at *Anti-*

*Antiochia*, Παῦλος & Πέτρος θεμελιώσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, the Church whereof was founded by *Paul* and *Peter*. And this may serve to reconcile the difference which doth occurre amongst the Ancient writers, about Saint *Peters* next successour in the See of *Antioch*. *Origen*, (o) *Chrysostome*, (p) *Theodoret*, and *Felix*, whom before we spake of, doe make *Ignatius* to be Saint *Peters* next successour: where by the way we have Saint *Peters* being Bishop there, avowed by *Chrysostome* and *Theodoret*, into the bargain. And on the other side, (q) *Eusebius*, and Saint (r) *Hierome* place *Enodius* first, and after his decease, *Ignatius*: wherein *Ignatius* (s) doth himselfe concurre with them, counselling or exhorting the *Antiochians*, to call to minde *Enodius* that most holy Bishop ὁς πρῶτος ἐν χειρὶ πατρὶς τῶν Ἀποστόλων τὸν ἡμῶν πρεσβυτερεῖαν, who first received the government of that Church from the holy Apostles. Now for the reconciliation of this difference, taking it first for granted, as I thinke we may, that at first there were in *Antiochia* two severall Congregations of converted *Christians*, the one of *Hebrews*, the other of the *Gentiles*, whereof Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* were the severall heads: the Authour of the *Constitutions* ascribed to (t) *Clemens* (who in a matter of this nature may well bee credited) will

(o) *Homil. de transl. Ignatii.*  
(p) *Dialog. 1.*

(q) *Hist. l. 3. c. 16.*

(r) *de script. eccl. in Ignatio.*

(s) *Epist. ad Antioch.*

(t) *Constantin. A. 98. lib. 7. c. 43.*

give us an handsom hint: informing us that (the Apostles being to betake themselves to their other busin esse, or the busin esse rather of the Lord) Saint *Peter* did ordaine *Euodius*, and Saint *Paul*, *Ignatius*, to be the Bishops there in their severall charges. Upon which ground *Baronius* doth infer, and not improbably, that the wall of separation being beaten downe, and both the Congregations of *Antiochia*, made into one Church, (u) *Ignatius* did willingly religne his present interest unto *Euodius*, whom he succeeded also after his decease. But be this how it will, certaine I am that the preferment of *Euodius* to the See of *Antioch*, is placed by *Eusebius* in the 45. yeare of Christs Nativity: who having late there fixe and twenty yeares, did leave the same unto *Ignatius*, Anno 71. Saint *Fohn*, and perhaps other of the Apostles, being then alive. More then so, (x) *Chrysostome* affirms expressly, not onely that some of the Apostles were then alive, but that he was made Bishop by them; *ἡ δὲ μαρτυρία Ἀποστόλων ἔχει*, and that the hands of the Apostles touched his holy head. And so much for the Bishops of *Antiochia*, which lived and were co-temporary with the Apostles.

(u) *Baron. Annal. Eccl. An 45*  
n. 14.

(x) *Serm. de Ignat. Tom. 5. p.*  
499. edit. Savil.

### III.

But to goe forwards with Saint *Peter*, having thus settled and confirmed the Church

Church of *Antioch*, and by this preaching to *Cornelius* opened a doore unto the Gospel in *Cæsarea*, and amongst the *Gentiles*; he followed on the course of his *Apostleship*: Preaching unto the *Jewes* dispersed in the *Easterne* parts, as namely throughout *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia*, and *Bythinia*, (y) as himselfe intimates in his first Epistle. And when he was to leave those parts, and make for *Italy*, he left them not without a *Ministry*: nor did he leave that ministry without some *Bishops*, to governe and direct the *flocke*. The Roman *Martyrologie* doth reckon in these Churches of Saint *Peters* founding, (z) *Cornelius*, the first fruites of the *Gentiles*, *Quem B. Petrus Episcopali honore sublimavit*, made by him Bishop of *Cæsarea*. (a) *Metaphrastes*, if hee may be credited, as in most things, which doe not tend to miracles, I thinke he may, relateth that Saint *Peter* in his peregrination did ordaine *Bishops* in the Churches of *Sidon*, *Berytus*, and *Laodicea*; that he made *Marson* Bishop of *Tripolis*, and *Prochorus* of *Nicomedia*: and finally that in the Provinces of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, and *Bythinia*, he did not onely plant Churches, but he founded *Bishopricks*. But waving these things as I finde them, and the report of *Agapetus* in the fifth Councell of *Constantinople*, that the first Bishop of *Bizantium* was

(y) 1 Pet. I. 1.

(z) Februar 2.

(a) Citaz. ap.  
Baron. An. 44. n.  
10.

(b) *Cencil. Constant 5. Ad. 2.*

(c) *1 Pet. 5. 1.*

(d) *Oecumenius in 1 Pet. cap. 5.*

(e) *Nazian. in Apologet.*

(b) was of *Peters* founding, though of unquestionable credit: let us repara unto the *Scriptures*. There finde we the *Apostles* stirring up the *Pastors* to have a care unto the flocke. (c) *The Elders which are amongst you* I exhort, who am also an Elder, and a witnesse of the sufferings of Christ, Feed the flocke of God which is among you. Aske (d) *Oecumenius* who these *Presbyters*, or Elders were, and he will tell you they were *Bishops*. And then he gives this reason of it, *πρεσβυτερος* ὁ ἐστὶν ἐπίσκοπος ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ τῶν ἀκτῶν, that *Bishops* are called *Presbyters* in the booke of *Acts*. But *Oecumenius*, being of a later standing, may possibly bee undervalued, when he speakes alone: and therefore we will stare super vias antiquas, enquire amongst the ancients, and aske their Judgements in the case. And here we meete with *Gregory Nazianzen*, (e) who pencilling and describing a perfect *Prelate*, makes amongst others, this to be a special quality belonging to him, *μηδὲ βία καὶ ἐξουσία, ἀλλὰ μετὰ συνέσει καὶ φόβῳ*, not to constrain their people to the works of piety by force & violence, but to allure them by perswasions. For prooffe whereof hee instanceth in this present Text, Feede the flocke of Christ which is among you, not by constraints, but willingly, of a ready minde.

IV.

But this construction may be verified from



from the *Text* it selfe, as well as from the *Glosses* of the Ancient Writers; and that from three particular words or phrases, that occurre therein. For first, Saint *Peter* calling himselfe their *Fellow Presbyter*, *ἰσὺς πρεσβυτέρων* in the *Greeke*, shewes plainly that they were not simple *Presbyters*, which he thus exhorteth, but *Presbyters* invested with some higher dignity, such as had some resemblance of the *Apostolicall* Function. In which regard Saint *John* the Apostle in his two last *Epistles*, calls himselfe a *Presbyter*, the *Elder*, as our *English* reades it. Which word he used, as (f) *Oecumenius* hath observed, either because he was growne aged when he wrote the same, *ὁ γέροντος καὶ ἰσχυρὸς*, or intimating that he was a *Bishop*, according as the word *Presbyter* would beare in those former times. And why not thus, since *Beza* doth as firme on those words of Saint *Peter*, (g) *Generale esse nomen Presbyteri*, that the name of *Presbyter* was very generall: so generall as it seemes by him, *ut etiam ipsi Apostoli hoc nomine comprehendantur*, that even the holy Apostles are comprised therein. And therefore *Beza* being Judge, Saint *Peter* may meane *Bishops* here, though hee calls them *Presbyters*. And that hee meaneth *Bishops*, may be also gathered from the word *Πασκείτε*, *Feed ye the flocke which is among you*:

(f) *Oecum. in 2  
Ioh. epl. l. v. l.*

(g) *Beza An-  
not. in 1 Pet. c.  
5.*

(h) 1 Pet. 2. 25.

(i) Phil 3. 17.  
cap 9. v. 9.

ΠΟΙΜΑΙΝΕΙΝ, in the Greeke not signifying to feed onely, and no more then so; but such a *feeding* as implyeth a rule or governance annexed unto it, which is the proper Act of *Bishops*. Inferiour *Presbyters* may *βασίλεις*, feed the particular stocke committed to them by the word of Doctrine: The *Bishop* onely may *ΠΟΙΜΑΙΝΕΙΝ*, so feede them with the word of Doctrine, as that he also rule them with the rodde of Discipline. In this respect as the Apostle joynes the (h) *Shepherd and the Bishop* in a line together: So primitive Antiquity did arme the *Bishop* with a *Crozier* or *Pastorall* staffe, to shew the union of those Offices in the selfe-same person. But hereof wee shall speake more fully in another place: And indeed neede not speake more of it upon this occasion, considering that there is another word behinde in Saint *Peters* Text, which putteth the matter out of question. *Feede ye the flocke of God which is among you*, saith the Apostle, *ἐπισκοπῶντες*, saith the Text, *taking the oversight thereof*, as our *English* reads it; *doing the Office of a Bishop*, as the word doth signifie. The ordinary *Presbyters* may be called *ἐπισκοπῶντες*, or *Seers* if you will, according to the notion of that word, in the first of *Samuel*: the *Bishops* are *ἐπισκοπῶντες*, such as doe over-see the *Seers*. So then the *Presbyters* whom Saint *Peter* speakes

speakes of, being such as might *ἐπισκοπεῖν*, and *ἐπισκοπεῖν*, both *feede*, and *Oversee*, and *Governe*; it is apparent they were *Bishops*, and not simple *Presbyters*.

V.

But in this point Saint *Peter* shal not goe alone; Saint *Paul* will put in for a share, and keepe him company: who writing to the *Hebrewes*, even to the very *Hebrewes* of Saint *Peters* Province; doth advise them thus. *ἡμεῖς οὖν ὡς ἱεροῦ μέλη ἐσμὲν, &c.* (k) Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit your selves, for they watch for your soules, as they this must give account, &c. If you would know of *Chrysostome* (l) who these *Rulers* are, hee will tell you that they are the *Pastors* of the Church, whom. if you take away from the Flocke of Christ, *πῶς οὐκ ἀπολέσεται ἡ ἐκκλησία*, you utterly destroy, and lay waste the whole. Next aske (m) *Theophylact*, then whom none ever better scanned that Fathers writings, what hee meanes by *Pastors*; and hee will tell you, *ἐπισκοπεῖν λέγει*, that he speakes of *Bishops*. The very same saith (n) *Oecumenius*, noting withall that *ἐμίστα*, which we read *submit*, doth signifie *πῶς ἐμίστα ὑμῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς*, a very punctuall and exact obedience. But to goe higher yet then so, *Ignatius* the *Apostles* Schoiler, one that both knew Saint *Paul*, and conversed with him, will tell us that the *Rulers*, or *ἐπισκοπεῖν*, which Saint *Paul* here

(k) Heb. 13. 17

(l) Chrysost. in 13. ad Heb.

(m) Theophyl. in 13. ad Heb.

(n) Oecumen. in Euen.

here speaketh of, were no other than *Bishops*. For laying downe this exhortation to the *Trallenses*, τοῖς ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τοῖς κληρικοῖς, be subiect to your *Bishop*, as unto the Lord; he gives the selfe-same reason of it, which *Saint Paul* here doth, viz. *Because he watcheth for your Soules, as one that is to render an account to Almighty God*. The like we also finde in the *Canons* commonly ascribed to the *Apostles*; which questionlesse are very ancient; in which, the obedience and conformitie which is there required of the *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, to the directions of their *Bishop*, is grounded on that very reason, alledged before. And for the word, ἐκζητῶν of *Saint Paul*, it is not such a stranger in the writings of the elder times, but that they use it for a *Bishop*; as may appeare by that of the *Historian*, where hee calls *Polycarpus* Bishop of the Church of *Smyrna*, (c) the ἐκζητῶν of that Church; *Ignatius* writing, as he saith, not onely to the Church of *Smyrna*, ἰδίως τῇ τῶν ταύτης ἐκζητῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ Πολυκάρπου, but also unto *Polycarpus* Bishop of the same.

Where lest it may be thought that the preposition doth adde unto the nature of the word, we find the same *Historian* speaking of the same *Polycarpus* in another place; where he gives notice of an *Epistle* written in the name of the Church of *Smyrna*;

(c) *Enst. list.*  
L. 3. cap. 30. 25.

*Id. l. i. c. 14. 26.*

ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἡγούμενος, of which this *Polycarpus* had the Government, and a *Bishop* doubleſſe. In the which place ἡγούμενος, is conforme moſt fully to the *ἐκκλησιαστικὸς* of Saint *Paul*, differing no otherwiſe then the *verbe* and *participle*.

Now thoſe which in the Greeke are called ἐπίσκοποι, in all the old tranſlations that I have met with, are called *Præpoſiti*; *Obedite Præpoſitis veſtris*, as the *Latines* read it: and amongſt them *Præpoſiti* are taken generally for the ſame with *Biſhops*. Saint *Cyprian* (o) thus, *Ob hoc Eccleſia præpoſitum proſequitur*; for this cauſe doth the enemy purſue him that is ſet over the Church, that the Governour thereof being once removed, he may with greater violence deſtroy the ſame. More clearely in another place (p), What “danger is not to be feared, ſaith he, by offending the Lord, when ſome of the “*Prieſts* not remembering their place, neither thinking that they have a *Biſhop* ſet over them, challenge the whole government unto themſelves, *Cum contumeliâ & contemptu Præpoſiti*, even with the reproach and contempt of the Prelate, or “him that is ſet over them? Moſt clearely yet (q), where ſpeaking of the inſolency of a *Deacon* towards his *Biſhop*, he makes *Episcopos*, and *Præpoſitos* to bee one ſame thing; willing the *Deacon*, *Episcopo*, *Præpoſi-*

## VI.

(o) *Cyprian. l. 1. c. 3.*

(p) *Id. lib. 3. c. p. 14.*

(q) *Id. lib. 3. c. p. 9.*

(\*) De civitate.  
De l. 1. c. 9.

(\*) De l. 1. c. 9.

(\*) Chap. 9.

to suo plena humilitate satisfacere, with all humility to satisfie his Bishop, or *Præpositus*. Saint *Austin* speaks as fully to this purpose, as Saint *Cyprian* did. (r) *Ad hoc enim speculatores, i.e. populorum Præpositi in Ecclesiis constituti sunt, &c.* "For this end are "Bishops (for *speculatores* and *Episcopi*, are "the same Office, though in divers words) "I meane the *Prelates* or *Præpositi*, ordained in the Churches, that they should "not spare to rebuke sinne. In the same worke *De civitate*, (s) hee speaks plainer yet. For speaking of these words of the Divine, *I saw seates, and some sitting on them, and judgement was given*, hee expounds it thus. "This is not to be understood, saith "he, of the last judgement: *Sed sedes præpositorum, & ipsi Præpositi intelligendi sunt, per quos Ecclesia nunc gubernatur*, but the "seates of the *Præpositi*, and the *Præpositi* themselves, by whom the Church is "now governed (and they were Bishops "doublese in Saint *Austins* time) must be understood. More of this word who list to see, may finde it in that learned Tract of Bishop *Bilson*, entituled, *The pe petnall government of Christs Church* (t); who is copious in it. *Beza* indeed, the better to beare off this blow, hath turned *Præpositos* into *Ductores*; and instead of *Governours*, hath given us *Leaders*. Where if he meane such



such *Leaders*, as the word importeth, *Leaders* of Armies, such as Command in chiefe, *Lieutenants* Generally, hee will get little by the bargaine. But if he meane by *Leaders*, onely guides and conducts, (u) *PARANS*, though hee follow him in his translation, will leave him to himselfe in his Exposition: who by *Ductores* understandeth *Ecclesia Pastores & gubernatores*, the Pastors and Governours of the Church. Neither can *Beza* (x) possibly deny, but that those here are called *Ductores, qui alibi Episcopi vocantur*, which elsẽwhere are entituled *Bishops*. But where hee doth observe, that because the Apostle speaketh of *Præpositi* (y) in the Plurall number, therefore *Episcopall* jurisdiction was not then in use; it being indeed against the ancient course and *Canons*, to have two *Bishops* in one Church: there could not any thing be spoken, (to pretermitt the incivility of his expression) more silly and unworthy of so great a Clerke. For who knows not that the *Jewes* being dispersed into many Provinces and Cities, must have severall Churches; and therefore severall *Bishops*, or *Præpositos*, to beare Rule over them?

This businesse being thus passe over, and the Churches of *Saint Peters* planting in the *Easterne* parts, being thus left unto the care and

(u) *Paraus* comment. in *Heb.* 13

(x) *Ezra* Annot. in *Heb.* 13. 17.

(y) *Ex eo quod loquitur Paulus in plurali numero.* Ibid.

VII.

and charge of severall *Bishops*: we will next follow him into the *West*. And there wee finde him taking on himselfe the care of the Church of *Rome*, or rather, of the Church of God in *Rome*, consisting for the most part then of converted *Jewes*. The current of antiquity runnes so cleare this way, that he must needs corrupt the fountaines, who undertakes to trouble or disturbe the streame. His being there, and founding of that Church, his being *Bishop* there, and suffering there an ignominious, yet a glorious death, for the sake of *Christ*; are such noted truths, that it were labour lost to insist upon them. Onely I shall direct the Reader to such pregnant places in the most ancient and incorrupted Writers, as may give satisfaction in those points to any one that will take paines to looke upon them. And first to looke upon the *Greekes*, he may find *Papias* and *Clemens*, ancient Writers both, alleaged to this purpose by *Eusebius Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 14. Caius, & Dionysius Bishops of Corinth*, both of good antiquity, alleaged in the same booke, cap. <sup>12.</sup> *Eusebius* speaking for himselfe, not onely in the 13. chap. of the same booke also, but also in his *Chronicon*, in which he notes the yeare of his first comming to that City, to be the 44. after *Christs* nativity. See to this purpose also, Saint *Chrysostome* in his Homily

mily *De Petro & Paulo*, Saint *Cyrrill of Alexandria*, in his *Epistle to Pope Celestine*: *Theodoret*, *Sozomen*, and others. Next for the *Latines*, there is hardly any but saith somewhat in it: whereof see *Irenaeus l. 3. c. 3.* *Tertullian* in his booke *de praescript. ad ver. haeret.* *Lactant. lib. 4. cap. 21.* *Optatus, lib. 2. contr. Parmen.* *Hierome* in his tract. *De Eccl. Scriptoribus*, Saint *Austin* in *Epist. 165.* and other places, not to descend to later Writers of the *Latine Churches*, whose interest it may seeme to be. To close this point, (R) Saint *Austin*, whom I named last, shall speake once for all, who reckoning up the Bishops in the Church of *Rome*, thus begins his Catalogue: *Si enim, &c.* If the succession of the Bishops there be a thing considerable, *quanto certius, & verè salubriter ab ipso Petro numeramus?* how much more certainly, and assuredly do wee begin the same with *Peter*, who bare the figure of the whole Church? And then goes on, *Petro succedit Linus*, *Linus* succeeded *Peter*, *Clemens* him, and so to *Anastasius*, who then held the See.

(R) *Aug ep. 165*

# VIII.

Nor can it be replied that *Peter* took the Church of *Rome* into his *Apostolicall* care, and had not the *Episcopall* charge thereof, as some now suppose. The tables of succession make that cleare enough. Saint *Peter* the *Apostle* could have no *Successours*, but the

the *Bishop* might. *Linus*, or whosoever else succeeded, nor did, nor could pretend succession to the preheminences, & miraculous priviledges, which were required necessarily unto the making of an *Apostle*, challenge an interest by succession, in his *Pastorall* office they both might and did. The Writers of all ages since do afford them that. Only the difference is amongst them, who was the first that did succeed him in his *Pastorall* charge. *S. Austin* gives it unto *Linus*, as before we saw: next *Clemens*, and then *Anacletus*. *Irenaeus* (a) doth agree with *Austin*, placing *Linus* first, but placing *Anacletus* second, and then *Clemens* third: and so doth (b) *Epiphanius* also. (c) *Optatus* reckoneth them, as before in *Austin*. Saint (d) *Hierome* sometimes ranketh them, as *Irenaeus*, and *Epiphanius* did, *Linus*, *Cletus*, *Clemens*; and sometimes placeth (e) *Clemens* first, as *Tertullian*, and *plerique Latinorum*, most o' the ancient *Latine* writers had done before. I know there is much paines taken to compose this difference amongst our Antiquaries, those most especially of the Papall party. But in my mind there cannot be a better course taken to effect the same, than that which was observed before in the case of *Antioch*. And to effect this composition, *Ignatius*, and some other Fathers give a ground as probable, as that

(a) *Adv. haes.*  
l. 3. c. 3.

(b) *Haes.* 6.  
(c) *Lib. 2. contr.*  
*Parren.*

(d) *Hieron de*  
*Script. Eccles.*  
*in Clemen.*

(e) *Id. ibid.* in  
*Petro.*

that which was laid downe before in the former businesse. For first it is affirmed by *Irenæus*, that (f) *S. Paul* had as great an interest in the foundation of the Church of *Rome*, as *Saint Peter* had. *A duobus Apostolis Petro & Paulo Romæ fundatæ & constitutæ Ecclesiæ*: as his own words are. The like saith (g) *Epiphanius* in another language, making both of them Bishops of that Church. Next it is said expressly by *Ignatius*, (h) who might well speake on certaine knowledge living in those times, that *Anacletus* (for I conceive that *Cletus*, & *Anacletus* were the same) was *Deacon* to *S. Peter*, and *Linus* *Deacon* to *Saint Paul*, who doth indeed make mention of him in his second Epistle unto *Timothy*. This ground thus laid, why may we not conceive, as before in *Antioch*, that in the first planting of the Church of *Rome*, there were two severall Churches, or congregations; that of the *circumcision* being collected by *Saint Peter*, that of the *Gentiles* first drawne together by *Saint Paul*; each of them being *Bishop*, or chiefe *Pastor* of their Congregations? Secondly, that when the two *Apostles* perceived the time of their sufferings to draw neere, *Peter* ordained *Anacletus* Bishop of the Churches of the *Circumcision*, and that *Paul* did commit to *Linus* the government of the Churches of the *Gentiles*: both whom they had employ-

(f) *Iren. l. 3 c. 3*(g) *Adv. hæres. 27. num. 6.*(h) *Ep. ad Tral.*

ed before as Deputies and Substitutes to attend these charges, whilst they themselves did travell to and fro, as occasion was, and the necessities of the Church required. Thirdly and lastly, that *Linus* being dead, *Clemens* (who had before beene specially designed by Saint *Peter* to possesse his place) succeeded *Bishop* of the Churches of the *Gentiles* there, who finally surviving *Cletus*, or *Anacletus*, call him which you will, and the division betweene *Jew* and *Gentile* being worne away, united the two Churches in his person, as the sole *Bishop* of the whole. And this I am the rather induced to thinke, because that (a) *Epiphanius* making up a catalogue of the Popes of *Rome*, first joynes together *Peter* and *Paul*, next coupleth with the like conjunction *Linus* and *Cletus*: and after brings in *Clemens*, *Evaristus*, *Alexander*, &c. in a line successively. And yet the Tables of succession may well stand as they have done hitherto; first *Linus*, after *Cletus*, and thirdly *Clemens*: because that *Linus* dying first, left *Cletus* in possession of the *Pastorall* charge, and *Cletus* dying before *Clemens*, left him the sole survivor of the three, which possibly may be the reason why many of the *Latines* reckon *Clemens* for the first *Bishop* after *Peter*: whom they conceive to be sole *Bishop* of that Church: as indeed

(a) *Πάτρις & Παῖς*, *Αν-  
τι- & Κλη-  
τος*, &c. *Ep. p. l.*  
*bas. 27.*



indeed it was, before there was a Church of *Gentiles* founded in that famous Citie. For being formerly designed by Saint *Peter* to be his *Successour*, and afterward enjoying the whole charge alone, as *Peter* for a season did: it might not seeme improper to report him for the second *Bishop*; that is the second of the whole. And then again, *Clemens* is placed by some next and immediately after *Linus*, whose successor he was in the *direct* line, as *Bishop* of the more famous Church, *viz.* of the *Gentiles*; and by some also after *Cletus*, whom he succeeded at the last, in the line *collaterall*. However, be this so, or not, we have three Bishops sitting in the Church of *Rome* betweene the martyrdom of *Peter*, and the death of *John*: first, *Linus*, who held the same twelve yeares: *Cletus* or *Anacletus*, who survived, and held twelve yeares more: and *Clemens*, finally, who suffered martyrdom at *Rome*, the next yeare after the decease of Saint *John* at *Ephesus*.

I take it then for a most manifest and undoubted truth, not onely that Saint *Peter* was at *Rome*, but that he also tooke upon him the *Episcopall* charge, and was the *Bishop* of that City. The Arguments devised in this later Age to evince the contrary, do nothing lesse in my opinion, than prove the point for which they were first devised.

(i) Comment. in  
Act. c. 21.

devised. For first it is objected, that the *Episcopall* charge requiring residence, could not consist with that of an *Apostle*, who was to be perpetually in motion. Which argument, if it be of any force, will militate as well against Saint *James* his being Bishop of *Hierusalem*, as against Saint *Peters* being Bishop of the Church of *Rome*. And then will *Calvin* (i) come in very opportunely in to helpe us, who speaking of Saint *James* his constant residence in *Hierusalem*,  
 “doth resolve it thus. *Quamquā cōmune illi cū*  
 “*reliquis collegis mandatū erat, &c.* Although,  
 “saith he, the Lords cōmandement of preaching to all Nations, was common unto  
 “him with the residue of the Lords *Apostles*,  
 “yet I conceive, that they did so divide the  
 “charg amongst thē, as to leave him alwaies  
 “at *Hierusalem*, whither such store of strangers did use continually to resort. *Id enim*  
 “*périnde erat ac si Evangelium longè longè-*  
 “*que promulgasset in locis remotis*; for that,  
 “saith he, was as sufficient, as if he had promulgated, or preached the Gospell in the  
 “parts remote. This if it may be used for *James*, will serve for *Peter*. Assuredly there was a greater confluence of all sorts of strangers to the City of *Rome*, than used to be unto *Hierusalem*: and therefore *Peter* being there, might spread abroad the Gospell with the greater speed, and with no lesse suc-

successfe than those others did, who did not fixe themselves in a certaine station. But whereas (k) *Calvin* doth object in another place, that Saint *Paul* writing to the *Romans*, and saluting many of the Saints there, makes no speech of *Peter*; and that writing many of his Epistles from the City of *Rome*, he makes no mention of him neither: this may inferre indeed, that Saint *Peter* was then absent, when those things were done, as one that had not so immured himselfe in the walls of *Rome*, but that he travelled up and downe in severall quarters of the world: doing sometimes the office of an *Apostle*, discharging otherwhiles the place and function of a *Bishop*. All the Epistles of Saint *Paul* which beare date from *Rome*, were written in the first two yeares of his being there: and therefore any argument derived from thence must be very weake, either to prove that *Peter* never was at *Rome*, or never *Bishop* of that place: being so many ancient Writers do affirme them both. And yet I would not have the *Papists* thinke that this makes any more for the *Popes* supremacie, because he sits in *Peters* seat: than it did make for *Vibius Rufus* (l) to attaine *Tullies* eloquence, or *Cæsars* power, because he married *Tullies* widow, and bought *Cæsars* chaire; though the poore Gentleman, as the story tel-

leth

(k) *Institut.* l. 4.  
c. 6. n. 14, 15.

(l) *Dion. in*  
*Tiber. hist.* l. 57.

leth us, *συμπαρονομήσας ἐφ' ἑκατέρω*, did presume on both.

X.

But to goe on, the Church of Christ being thus settled by Saint *Peter*, both in *Rome*, and *Antioch*: his next great care is for *Alexandria*, the great and most renowned City in the parts of *Africa*: that so there might be no prime City in all the habitable world, to which the Gospell was not preached. In the discharge of this great businesse, was Saint *Marke* employed; a principall and constant follower of Saint *Peters*, who mentioneth him in his Epistle by the name (m) of *sonne*. The Church which

(m) 1 Pet. 5. 13

is at *Babylon* saluteth you, and so doth *Marcus my sonne*. The planting of this Church is thus remembred by *Eusebius* (n) τῶτον ὁ Μάρκος

(n) *Euseb. hist.*  
l. 2. c. 15.

πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καταμύχων, &c. It is affirmed, "saith he, that *Marke* did first (of all Christs followers) passe into *Egypt*, and there promulge and preach the Gospell, "which before he writ; and that hee first "did plant the Church of *Alexandria*: in "which his undertakings had so good "successe, that on his very first endeavours, "ὡς καὶ πρῶτον ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνι, as the Author hath it, "great multitudes both of men and women did beleieve in *Christ*; his holinesse, "and strict behaviour gaining much upon "them. This Church as he first founded in the faith of *Christ*, so did he take upon himselfe

himselfe the charge thereof, and became Bishop of the same. This witnesseth S. Hierome of him, <sup>(o)</sup> *Marcus interpret Petri Apostoli, & Alexandrinæ Ecclesiæ primus Episcopus:* that Mark the interpreter of S. Peter, was the first Bishop of the Church of Alexandria. The same he also doth affirme in his Epistle to *Enagrus*; whereof more anon. And when <sup>(p)</sup> *Eusebius* doth informe us, that in the eighth yeare of the Emperour Nero, *Anianus*, a right godly man, ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, as the story calls him, succeeded Marke the Evangelist in Alexandria: he doth inferre *ex consequenti*, that Marke was Bishop there before him. So that it seemeth he sate there 19. yeares by this account. For he came hither An. 45. being the third of *Claudius Caesar*; and finished his course in the eighth of Nero, which was the 64. of our Redeemer. Finally, <sup>(q)</sup> *Anianus* having continued Bishop here 23. years, dyed in the 4. yeare of *Domitianus*, being An. Chr. 87. and had *Abilius* to succeed him: after whom *Cerdo* did succeed, in the yeare 100. what time *Abilius* left this world, S. John the Apostle being yet alive. So that there were foure Bishops of Alexandria succeeding one another in that weighty charge, during the lives of the Apostles: a pregnant evidence that they both instituted and approved the calling.

<sup>(o)</sup> Hieron. in Proem. super Mat.

<sup>(p)</sup> Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 23. &c.

<sup>(q)</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 12. &c.

## XI.

(r) *Hæc.* 66.  
n. 6.

(f) *Smell.* 111.  
p. 53.

(t) *Aug.* ep. 110.

Now for the Church of *Alexandria*, there are somethings observed by the Fathers, which are worth our noting, and may give great light to the present businessse; It is observed by (r) *Epiphanius*, that *Alexandria* never had two *Bishops*, *ὡς αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις*, as had other cities: which words not rightly understood have made some (f) conceive, that anciently *Bishops* were the same with *Presbyters*, it being against the usuall custome to have two *Bishops* in one Church or city. But if we looke considerately upon *Epiphanius*, there is no such matter: all that he drives at being this, that whereas in most other Churches, for the preventing of schismes and factions amongst the people, in the electing of the r *Bishops*, it had bene ordinary for the *Bishop* yet in place, to consecrate some one or other that should assist him whilst he lived, and succeed after his decease: onely the Church of *Alexandria* never had that custome. And they that had that custome, as it seemes, did not like it well: for whereas *Valerius* (t) *Bishop* of *Hippo*, out of a vehement desire to have *S. Austin* his succellour, did consecrate or ordaine him *Bishop*, whilst as himselfe was yet alive. Saint *Austin* was resolved for his part not to do the like: it being a thing prohibited by the *Nicene Councell*. *Quod ergo reprehensum est in me, nolo reprehendi in filio meo*, as he there resolveth. So that the place  
in



in *Epiphanius* tendeth unto this alone, viz. to shew the reason why *Athanasius* could not succeed *Alexander* in that See, though by him designed: which was, that he being yet alive, it was against the custome of that Church to ordaine another. Saint (u) *Hierome*, secondly, observeth, that the *Presbyters* of *Alexandria*, *unam ex se electum in excelssiori gradu collocatum Episcopum nominabant*, did use to choose one from amongst themselves, whom being placed in a more eminent degree, than any of the rest, they called a *Bishop*. And this, saith he, continued in that Church, à *Marco Evangelista*, ad *Heraclem & Dionysium Episcopos*: from the time of *Mark* the *Evangelist* untill the Bishopricks of *Heracles* and *Dionysius*. Some hereupon (x) inferre, that the persons who brought in the imparitie of *Ministers* into the Church, were not the *Apostles*, but the *Presbyters*. An inference as faulty, as was that before. All that Saint *Hierome* meanes is this, that from the time of *Marke*, till the daies of *Heracles* and *Dionysius*, the *Presbyters* of *Alexandria* had no other *Bishop* than one whom they had chosen out of their owne body: just as a man may say, on the like occasion, that from the first foundation till the time of *S<sup>t</sup> H. Savill*, the Colledge of *Eaton* never had a *Provost* but one, whom they had chosen out of their owne society. Now (y) *He-*

(u) *Ep. ad Euz.*(x) *Smectym.*  
P. 31.(y) *Euseb. list.*  
l. 6. c. 12. 14.

(z) *Annal. An.*  
1248. n. 5.

(\*) *Hier. Com-*  
*ment. in Ep. ad*  
*Timon.*

## XII.

(a) *Comment in*  
*Epl. c. 4.*

*raclas* before he was ordained Bishop was not a *Presbyter* of that Church, although a *Reader* in the *Schooles* of that famous City, & belike *Dionysius* also was. And therefore it is well observed by the (z) *Cardinall*; that *Hierome* writing to *Enagrius* relateth, *quid in ea Ecclesia usque ad hac Dionysii tempora in electione Episcoporum agi consueverit*: what was the usage of the Church of *Alexandria* in the election of their *Bishops*, untill the times of *Dionysius*. However wee have gained thus much by *Hierome*, that from *Mark* downward till those times, and a long time after, there wanted not a Bishop, properly so called, in that famous Church: and therefore sure they came not first into the Church, *Diaboli instinctu*, (\*) by the devils instinct, as hee elsewhere saith.

There is another observation in the Commentaries ascribed to *Ambrose*, which having some resemblance unto that before, and a like sinister use being made thereof: I shall here lay downe: and after give some *Annotations* on it to explaine the place. The Author of those Commentaries affirmeth, that (a) *Timothy* whom *Paul* created *Presbyter*, "was by him called a *Bishop*, becaule the  
"first *Presbyters* were called *Bishops*: it being  
"the custome of the Church (for so I thinke  
"the sense must be made up) *ut recedente eo*  
"sequens ei succederet; that he [the first] departing,

"parting, the next in order should succeed.  
 "But being it was found that the following  
 "*Presbyters* were utterly unworthy of so  
 "high preferment, that course was altered;  
 "and it was provided by a Councell, *ut non*  
 "*ordo, sed meritum crearet Episcopum, &c.*  
 "that merit, and not seniority should raise  
 "a man, hee being appointed by the suf-  
 "frages of many Priests, to be a *Bishop*, lest  
 "an unfit person rashly should usurpe the  
 "place, and so become a publicke scādall.  
 These are the Authors words, be he who he  
 will. And from hence *Beza* (b) doth collect  
 that *Bishops* differed not from *Presbyters* in  
 the Apostles times; that there was onely in  
 every place a *President* of the *Presbytery*,  
 who called them together, and proposed  
 things needfull for their consideration; that  
 this priority went round by course, every  
 one holding it in his turne for a weeke, or  
 more, according as the *Priests* in the *Jewish*  
*Temple* had their weekly courses: and fi-  
 nally, that this *Apostolicall* and primitive or-  
 der was after changed, upon the motives,  
 and inducements before remembred. Some  
 of our (c) moderne writers against *Episco-*  
*pacie*, have gone more warily to worke than  
 so, affirming from those words of *Ambrose*  
 (or whosoever was the Author) that this  
 "*Rectorship*, or priority was devolved at first  
 "from one Elder to another by *succession*;  
 "when

(b) Resp. ad  
 tract. de divers.  
 ministr. gradibus  
 c. 23.

(c) S. neelym.  
 p. 31.

“when he who was in the place was removed, the next in order amongst the *Elders* succeeded: and that this course was “after changed, the better to keepe out unworthy men, it being made a matter of “election: and not a matter of succession. These men come neere the point in their *exposition*, though they keepe farre enough in the *application*, inferring hence that the *imparity of Ministers came in otherwise, than by divine Authority*. For by comparing this of *Ambrose*, with that before mentioned out of *Hierome*, the meaning of the Author will be onely this, that as in some places the *Presbyters* elected one of their owne *Presbytery* to be their *Bishop*: so for preventing of *Ambition*, and avoiding *faction*, they did agree amongst themselves, *ut uno recedente*, that as the place did vaie by death or deprivation, by resignation, cession, banishment, or any other meanes whatever, the *Senior* of the whole *Presbytery* should succeed therein, as the Lord Major is chosen for his yeere in *London*. But after upon sight of those inconveniences, which did thence arise, it was thought fit in their election of the person, rather to looke upon his *merit*, then his *Seniority*. So that for all this place of *Ambrose* (were those Comments his) the *Bishop* may enjoy a fixt preheminance, and hold it by

by divine authoritie, not by humane ordinances.

But to returne unto Saint *Peter*, and to the Churches by him planted, and founded by him in *Episcopacie* in these *Westerne* parts, I shall in part relie on the Authority of the *Martyrologie* of the Church of *Rome*: though so farre onely, and no further, as it is backed by venerable *Bede*, and *Vsuardus*, ancient Writers both, the latest living in the (a) yeare 800. and besides them, in some particulars by other Authors of farre more Antiquitie. And these, for better methods sake, we will behold according to the severall Countries, into which Saint *Peter* either went himselfe, or sent forth his Disciples to them, to preach the Gospel. And first for *Italy*, besides the Church of *Rome* before remembred. We find (b) *Epaphroditus*, (not he that is commemorated by Saint *Paul*, in his Epist'e to the *Philippians* as (b) *Baronius* witnesseth against himselfe) (c) à beato *Petro Apostolo Episcopus illius Civitatis ordinatus*, made Bishop by Saint *Peter* of *Tarracina*, of old called *Anxur*: *Pancratius* (d) made by Saint *Peter* Bishop of *Tanromenium* in the Isle of *Sicilie*; as the *Greeks* also do affirme in their *Menologia*: *Marcianus* (e) Bishop of *Syracusa*, to whom the said *Meno'ogies* do beare record also: *Hermagoras* (f) a Disciple of Saint *Marke*, the first Bishop of *Aquileia*,  
now

## XIII.

(a) *Bellarmin. de Scrip't.*

(b) *In Annal. Eccles. A. 60.*

(c) *Rom. Mart. 22.*

(d) *April. 3.*

(e) *Iun. 4.*

(f) *Iulii. 12.*

(g) *Iulii* 12.(h) *Iulii* 23.(i) *Chryf. serm.*  
128.(l) *Rom. Martyr.*  
*Apr.* 18.(m) *Novemb.* 7.(n) *Sept.* 1.(o) *Octob.* 25.(p) *Ian.* 27.(p) *Alti.*(q) *Martyrol.*  
*Rom. Decem.* 29.(r) *Epist. contr.*  
*Provinc. ad S.*  
*Leonem. in fine.*  
*lib.*

now in the Signeurie of *Venice*: *Paulinus* (g) the first Bishop of *Luques* in *Tuscanie*: *Apollinaris*, (h) created by Saint *Peter* the first Bishop of *Ravenna*, in praise of whom (i) *Chrysologus*, one of his Successours, and an holy Father, hath composed a *Panegyricke*: *Marcus* (l) ordained Bishop of *Atina*, at Saint *Peters* first comming into *Italie*: and last of all *Prosdocimus* the first Bishop of *Padua* (m) à *Beato Petro ordinatus*, made Bishop thereof by Saint *Peter*. Next to passe over into *France*, we find there *Xystus* (n) the first Bishop of *Rhemes*, and *Fronto* (o) Bishop of *Perigori* [*Petragorricis*], ordained both by this Apostle: As also *Julianus* the first Bishop of *Mayne* (q) *Cononiensum* in the *Latine*) of his ordination. And besides these we read that *Trophimus* (p) once one of *S. Pauls* Disciples was by Saint *Peter* made the first Bishop of (q) *Arles*. And this besides the *Martyrologies*, and other Authors cited by *Baronius* in his Annotations, appeareth by that memorable controversie in the time of Pope *Leo*, before the Bishop of *Vienna*, the chiefe City of *Daulphine*, and him of *Arles*, for the place and dignity of *Metropolitan*. In prosecution of the which it is affirmed (r) by the *Suffragans*, or *Com-provinciall* Bishops of the Province of *Arles*: *quod prima inter Gallias Arelatensis Civitas missum à Beatissimo Petro Apostolo, Sanctum Trophimum, habere meruit*



meruit *Sacerdotem*; that first of all the Cities of *Gaul*, that of *Arles* did obtaine the happinesse to have Saint *Trophimus* for their Bishop, (for so *Sacerdos* must be read in that whole Epistle) sent to them from the most blessed Apostle Saint *Peter*, to preach the Gospell. For *Spaine*, we find this testimony once for all, (s) that *Ctesiphon*, *Torquatus*, *Secundus*, *Cecilius*, *Judaetius*, *Hesychius*, and *Euphrasius*; *Roma à Sanctis Apostolis Episcopi ordinati*; & *ad prædicandum verbum Dei in Hispanias directi*: having beene ordained Bishops at *Rome* by the Apostles (*viç.* Saint *Peter*, and Saint *Paul*) were sent into *Spaine* to preach the Gospell: and in most likelihood, were Bishops of those Cities, in which they suffered, the names whereof occur in the *Martyrologie*. If we passe further into *Germany*, we may there see *Eucherius*, one of *S. Peters* Disciples also, by him employed to preach the Gospell to that Nation; which having done with good effect in the City of *Triers*, *Primus ejusdem Civitatis Episcopus*, (t) hee was made the first Bishop of that City. And unto this *Methodius* also doth attest, as he is cited by *Marianus Scotus*, who tells us, (u) that after he had held the Bishoprick 23. yeares, *Valerio Treverica Ecclesia culmen dereliquit*, he left the government of that Church unto *Valerius*, who together with *Maternus*, (both being Disciples of Saint

P Peter,

(s) *Rom. Martyr*  
*Maij 15.*

(t) *Decemb. 8.*

(u) *Ap mar.*  
*Scotum in An.*  
72-74.

(x) Commem.  
Petrī & Pauli  
ad diem 29.  
Iunii.

(y) Beda h. h. f.  
Eccles. 1 c. 27.

Peter) did attend him thither: & that *Maternus* after fifteene yeares did succeed *Valerius*, continuing Bishop there 40. yeares together. I should much wrong our part of *Britaine*, should I leave out that, as if neglected by the *Apostle*, concerning which wee are informed by *Metaphrastes* (whose credit hath beene elsewhere vindicated) that this *Apostle* (x) comming into *Britain*, and tarrying there a certaine time, and enlightning many with the word of grace, ἐκκλησίας τε συστάσας, ἱερεῖς τε ἐπισκοπῆς τε, & διακόνους, & ἐστνῆσας, did constitute *Churches*, and ordaine *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons* in the same. Which action as he placeth in the twelfth yeare of *Nero*, being the 67. of our Redeemer: so he professeth, that hee had his information out of some writings of *Eusebius*, which have not come unto our hands, but with a great deale more of that Authors workes, have perished in the ruines and wracke of time. Nor is it strange that the *Apostle* should make so many of his Disciples *Bishops*, before or shortly after they were sent abroad to gaine the nations to the Faith; that being the usuall course in the like imployments: as may appeare by *Austins* (y) being consecrated *Bishop*, immediately after his first comming into *England*. The reason was, as I conceive it, that if God prospered their endeavours with desired successe,

successes, they might be furnished with a power of ordaining *Presbyters*, for their assistance in that service. And so much for the Churches planted by Saint *Peter*, and by his *Disciples*.



## CHAP. IV.

The Bishoping of *Timothy* and *Titus*, and others of Saint *Pauls* Disciples.

I. *The conversion of Paul, and his ordaining to the place of an Apostle.*

II. *The Presbyters created by Saint Paul, Act. 14. of what sort they were.*

III. *Whether the Presbyters, or Presbytery did lay on hands with Paul, in any of his ordinations.*

IV. *The people had no voice in the election of their Presbyters, in these early times.*

V. *Bishops not founded by Saint Paul at first, in the particular Churches by him planted, and upon what reasons.*

VI. *The short time of the Churches of Saint Pauls plantation, continued without Bishops over them.*

VII. Timothy made Bishop of Ephesus, by Saint Paul, according to the generall consent of Fathers.

VIII. The time when Timothy was first made Bishop, according to the Holy Scripture.

IX. Titus made Bishop of the Cretans, and the truth verified herein by the Ancient Writers.

X. An answer unto such objections as have beene made against the subscription of the Epistle unto Titus.

XI. The Bishopping of Dionysus the Areopagite, Aristarchus, Gaius, Epaphroditus, Epaphras, and Archippus.

XII. As also of Silus, Sosthenes, Sosipater, Crescens, and Aristobulus.

XIII. The Office of a Bishop, not incompatible with that of an Evangelist.

I.



EE are now come unto Saint Paul, and to the Churches by him planted, where wee shall meete with clearer evidence from Scripture then before we had. A man that did at first most eagerly afflict the poore Church of *Christ*, as if it were the destiny not of *David* onely, but also of the Sonne of *David*, to be persecuted by the hands of *Saul*. But as the (a) *Rhemists* well observe, that the contention

(a) *Rhemist.*  
*Testam. Aët. 15.*

tion betweene *Paul* and *Barnabas*, fell out unto the great increase of *Christianity*: so did this persecution raised by *Saul*, fall out unto the great improvement of the Gospel. For by this meanes, the Disciples being scattered and dispersed abroad, the Gospel was by them disseminated in all the parts and Countries where they came: and *Saul* himselfe being taken off, even in the middle of his fury, became the greatest instrument of Gods power and glory, in the converting of the *Gentiles*. For presently upon his owne conversion, we finde him Preaching in the (b) *Synagogues of Damascus*, thence taking a long journey into (c) *Arabia*, from thence returning to *Hierusalem*, afterwards travelling towards (d) *Tarsus* his owne native soyle, and thence brought back to (e) *Antioch*, by the meanes of *Barnabas*. And all this while I looke upon him as an *Evangelist* onely, a constant, and a zealous Preacher of the Gospel of Christ, in every Region where he travelled. His calling unto the *Apostleship*, was not untill the Holy Ghost had said unto the Prophets (f) *Lucius, Simeon, and Manabem*, ministring then in *Antiochia*, separate me *Barnabas* & *Saulum*, separate me *Barnabas* and *Saul*, for the worke whereunto I have called them. An extraordinary call, and therefore done by extraordinary meanes,

(b) Act 9. 30.

23.

(c) Gal 1. 17.

18.

(d) Act 9. 30.

(e) Act 11. 26.

(f) Act 13. 1. 2.

and Ministers. For being the persons here employed in this Ordination, neither were *Apostles*, nor yet advanced for ought wee finde, unto the estate and honour of *Episcopacy*: it must bee reckoned amongst those *extraordinaries*, which God pleased to worke, in, and about the calling of this blessed *Apostle*. Of which we may affirme with (g) *Chrysostome*, *ἡτοιμασεν ὁ θεὸς ἑαυτὸν ἵνα μὴ ὡς*, that of the things which did befall Saint *Paul* in his whole vocation, there was nothing *Ordinary*, but every part was acted by the hand of God. God in his *extraordinary* workes, tyes not himselfe to ordinary meanes and courses, but takes such waies and doth imploy such instruments, as himselfe best pleaseth, for the more evident demonstration of his power and glory. So that however *Simeon*, *Manahen*, and *Lucius* did lay hands upon him; yet being the call and designation was so miraculous, hee might well say that he was made an *Apostle* (h) *neither of men, nor by men, but of Jesus Christ and God the Father*. (i) *Chrysostome* so expounds the place, *Not of Men*, *ὡς οὐκ ἔκ τινος ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ἐκλεξάμενος*, so to make it manifest, that he received not his call from them; nor *by men*, because he was not sent by them, but by the Spirit. As for the worke, to which he was thus separated by the Lord, aske the said Father what it was, and

(g) *Chrysostome*  
hom. 20. in Act.

(h) Gal. 1. v. 1.  
(i) Hom. 27. in  
Act.



and he will tell you *eis tēn Apostolēn*, that it was the office of an *Apostle*: and that hee was ordained an *Apostle* here, *ὡς μετ' ἐξουσίας κυρίου ἦεν*, that he might Preach the Gospell with the greater power. Aske who it was that did ordaine him, and he will tell you, that howsoever *Manaken, Lucius* and *Simeon*, did lay hands upon him, *μαῖναν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς ἡμᾶς*, yet he received his *Ordination* by the Holy Ghost. And certainly, that he had not the *Apostleship* before, may be made manifest by that which followed after. For we doe not finde in all the story of his Acts, that either he ordained *Presbyters*, or gave the *Holy Ghost*, or wrought any *miracles*, which were the *(k) signes of his Apostleship*; before this solemne *Ordination*, or imposition of the hands of the said three Prophets: as afterwards we find he did in severall places of that booke, and shall now shew. (as it relates unto our present busines) in that which followeth.

*Paul* being thus advanced by *God the Father*, and *his Sonne Iesus Christ*, to the high place of an *Apostle*, immediately applyeth himselfe unto the same: Preaching the Word with power, *(l)* & *miracles*, in the Isle of *Cyprus*, from thence proceeding to *Pamphilia* and other Provinces of the lesser *Asia*, every where gaining Soules to Almighty God. Having spent three yeares in those

parts

*(k)* 1 Cor. 12.  
12.

II.

*(l)* Act. 13. 11.  
&c.

(m) Act. 14. 26

(n) Act. 14. 23.

parts of *Asia*, and planted Churches in a great part thereof, he had a mind to goe againe to *Antioch*, (m) from whence he had been recommended to the grace of God, for the worke which he had fulfilled. But fearing lest the Doctrine he had Preached amongst them, might either be forgotten, or produce no profit, if there were none left to attend that service: before he went, hee thought it fitting to found a *Ministry* amongst them, in their severall Churches. To this end, They (i. e. He and *Barnabas*) ordained (n) them *Presbyters* in every Church, with prayer and fasting: and that being done, they recommended him unto the Lord, in whom they believed. This is the first *Ordination* which wee finde of *Presbyters* in holy Scripture; though doubtlesse there were many before this time. The Church could neither be instructed, nor consist at all, without an ordinary *Minister* left amongst the people, for the Administration of the Word and Sacraments. However, this being as I said, the first record thereof in holy Scripture; we will consider hereupon, first to what Office they were called, which are here called *Presbyters*; Secondly, by whom they were Ordained; and thirdly, by what meanes they were called unto it. First, for the Office what it was, I finde some difference amongst *Expositors*, as well new as old.

old. Beza conceives the word in a general sense, and to include at once, *Pastors* and *Deacons*, and who ever else were set apart for the rule and government of the Churches to them committed. (o) *Presbyteros*, i.e. *Pastores*, *Diaconos*, & *alios Ecclesie gubernationi praefectos*, as his owne words are. Here we have *Pastors*, *Deacons*, *Governours*, included in this one word *Presbyters*. Aske (p) *Lyra* who those governours were, which Beza calls *praefecti* in a general name, and he will tell you they were *Bishops*. *Nomine Presbyterorum hic intelliguntur etiam alii Ecclesie Ministri; ut Episcopi & Diaconi*: Under the name of *Presbyters*, faith he, are comprehended also other Ecclesiasticall Ministers, as *Bishops* and *Deacons*. The (q) *ordinary glosse* agrees herewith, as to that of *Bishops*; and gives this reason for the same, *Illo autem tempore ejusdem erant nominis Episcopi & Presbyteri*, that in that time *Bishops* and *Presbyters* were called by the same name. And (r) *Oecumenius* holds together with them, as to that of *Deacons*: noting that *Paul* and *Barnabas* had *Episcopall* authority, *ὡς αὐτὸ ἐμὸν διακόνος*, in that they did not onely ordaine *Deacons*, but also *Presbyters*. So that it seemeth Saint *Paul* provided here against all occasions, settling the Churches by him planted in so sure a way, that there was nothing left at random,

Q which

(o) Annot in  
AR. 14 v. 23.

(p) *Lyra* in  
AR. 14.

(q) *Glos. Ordin.*  
in AR. 14.

(r) *Oecum.* in  
AR. 14.

which either did relate to government, or point of Doctrine. And yet if any shall contend, that those who here are called *Presbyters*, were bur simply such, according to the notion of that word, as it is now used; I shall not much insist upon it. I onely shew what other Authours have affirmed herein; and so leave it off.

## III.

The next thing here to be considered, is who they were that were the Agents in this Ordination. *Cum constituisent illis*, when they had Ordained: and they, is there a relative, and points to *Paul* and *Barnabas*, mentioned v. 20. They preached the Gospel, they returned to *Lystra*, and finally they here Ordained. Of any one that laid hands with them on these *Presbyters* heads, which was the ceremony by them used in this Ordination (as the word *χειροτονειν* doth plainly manifest) ne *My Lucilianum*, not a word in Scripture. Indeed it cannot be conceived that in those places wherein there were no men in *Sacred Orders*, any should joine with the *Apostles* in that *sacred Action*. So that the *Presbyters*, which were here ordained, could have no other hands laid on them than those of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, if they joyned together; and did not rather severally and apart performe that ceremony. And if that the *Apostles* by the imposition of their owne hands only, could performe

performe it now; how came they to bee shortned after? how came they so devested of that sacred priviledge, as to want others to be joyned with them, and not to make a *Presbyter* without the co-assistancy of the *Presbytery*? The Holy Ghost was no lesse powerfull in them after this, then it had beene formerly: neither did *Paul* or want or crave the helpe of any, in giving of the Holy Ghost on the like occasions, in the times that followed. Certaine I am, when *Paul* was at *Ephesus*, though (s) *Timothy*, and others were then present with him, yet none but hee laid hands upon the twelve Disciples: And yet upon the laying on of his hands, *The Holy Ghost came on them, and they spake with tongues and prophesied*. Which if it were an Act of Ordination, as *Beza* thinkes (t), and it is likely so to be, because the Text saith, that they spake *with tongues and prophesied*: then have we here more *Presbyters* created by laying on of *Pauls* hands onely, without helpe of others. As for that passage in the first Epistle to *Timothy* (u), wherein the *Presbytery* may be thought to lay hands upon him; let it be ballanced with another in the second Epistle (x), where the *Apostle* doth assume the whole performance to himselfe, as his proper Act: and then the difference which appears will be quickly ended. If *Timothy*

(s) Act. 19. v. 6

(t) *Beza Annot.*  
in Act. 19. v. 1.

(u) 1 Tim. 4. 14

(x) 2 Tim. 1. 6.

(y) 1 Tim. 1. 5  
16. & 1 Tim.  
4. 14.

received those gifts which did enable him for the Holy Ministry, by laying on of *Pauls* hands onely, as it seemes hee did; what interest could the *Presbytery* challenge in that sacred Action? If hee received it joyntly from the *Presbytery*; what influence had Saint *Pauls* hands on him, more then all the rest? Assuredly Saint *Pauls* hands were not growne so impotent, that they needed helpe; or that hee could not give the graces of the *Holy Ghost*, by laying on his owne hands onely, as he had done formerly. And therefore if the *Presbytery* did concurre herein, it was not that the businesse could not bee performed without them, but either to declare the good affections which they did beare unto the person, or to expresse their joyfull approbation of his calling to that sacred function (y), of whom so many Prophecies had gone out before; or finally to contribute their prayers and blessings, to the solemnity of so grave and great a worke. And so, I thinke, the businesse will be best made up, if *Paul* be suffered to enjoy the honour of giving unto *Timothy*, by the imposition of his hands, the gifts and graces of the Spirit; and the *Presbytery* be permitted not to want their share in the performance of the outward ceremony. Certainly that the power of Ordination was in one alone, that is



to say, in the Apostle, is affirmed by *Calvin* (2). Who having canvassed the point, doth resolve at last, *Unum tantum fuisse qui manus imponeret*: Which is indeed the safest tenet, and most agreeable unto Antiquity. And therefore *Estius*, in my minde, did resolve it well, when hee did thus divide the businesse: (a) *Ceremoniam impositionis manuum, a pluribus fuisse adhibitam; sed solum Paulum ea peregisse, quæ [Sacramento] erant substantialia*. Unlessse perhaps we may conceive, as perhaps we may, that *Timothy* received two Ordinations: the one unto the Office of a *Presbyter*, in which the *Presbytery* might concurre, as to the outward pompe or ceremony; the other to the function of a *Bishop*, in which, because the *Presbyters* might not concurre, no not so much as to the outward Act or ceremony, he was Ordained by laying on of *Pauls* hands onely.

(2) *Calvin in 2 ad Tim. 1. v. 6.*

(a) *Estius in 1 ad Tim. 4. v. 14.*

## IV.

The last thing offred to consideration, is the election of the persons which are here ordained; which some refer unto the people: Concerning that the word *χειροτονία*, which *Saint Luke* here useth, doth signifie a popular manner of election, used by the holding up of hands. (b) *Ortum est hoc verbum ex Græcorum consuetudine, qui porrectis manibus suffragia ferebant*, as *Beza* notes it on the place: who hereupon translates the word,

(b) *Beza Annot. in Act. 14. 23.*

*Cum per suffragia creassent*, wherein he hath beene followed by some Translators of our Bibles, who expresse it thus, *When they had created Elders by election*. But whatsoever use the word might have in the old Greeke Writers; assuredly, it either had no such use now; or if it had, it quite excludes the people of those Churches, from having any hand in this Election. *ἡγεμονία*, however used amongst the *Greeks*, to signifie the approbation of the people, testified by the holding up of their hands: yet in the Church-construction, it signifyeth Ordination; done by the laying on of hands. And this, to save the labour of a further search, is very thoroughly avouched by (c) *Calvin*, where he acknowledgeth, that amongst Ecclesiasticall Writers, the word *ἡγεμονία*, was used *pro solenni ordinationis ritu*, for the solempne ceremony of Ordination, which is in holy Scripture, called imposition of hands. Particular instances hereof he that lists to see, may finde them gathered to his hand in the learned worke of Bishop (d) *Bilson*, before remembred. But whereas (e) *Calvin* hence collecteth, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* permitted the election of these *Presbyters* to the common suffrage of the people, and that themselves did onely preside therein, *Quasi moderatores, ne quid tumultuose fieret*, onely as Moderators

(c) *Calvin* in  
Afl. c. 14. v. 23.

(d) *The perpet.  
governm. of Ch.  
Ch. c. 7.*  
(e) *Calvin* ut  
*supra*.

derators of the businesse, to see that it was fairly carryed: what other ground soever he might have for his conjecture; assuredly hee could collect none from the word here used. For if that *χρηστὸν* did signifie election by holding up of hands, (f) *qualiter in Comitibus populi fieri solet*, as in assemblies of the people it did use to be; as hee himselfe affirms it doth: then certainly none but *Paul* and *Barnabas* holding up their hands, (for none but they were *χρηστὸν* in the present businesse) the whole election of these *Presbyters* must be given to them. But indeed it was neither so, nor so. Neither the *Apostle* nor the people had any hand in the elections of those times, but the *Spirit* of God, which evidently did designe and marke out those men, whom God intended to imploy in his holy *Ministry*. The words of *Paul* to *Timothy* make this cleare enough, where it is said, (g) *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophesie, &c.* and that there went some (h) *prophecies before* concerning *Timothy*, the same *Saint Paul* hath told us in the first chapter of that first *Epistle*. (i) *Chrysostome* notes upon these words, that in those times *ἐκκλησιαστικῶν*, the *Priests* and *Ministers* of God were made by *prophesie*, that is, saith he, *ἐκ τῆς προφητείας τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*, by the *Holy Ghost*. And

(f) *Id. ibid.*

(g) 1 Tim. 4.

14.

(h) 1 Tim. 1.

18.

(i) *Hom. 5. in 1 ad Tim. c. 1.*

And this he proves by the selection of *Paul* and *Barnabas* to the worke of God, which was done by *propheſie* and by the *Spirit*. And finally glossing on those words, *Noli negligere gratiam, &c.* he doth thus expresse it, "Οὐδὲν ἐξελήξατο, God, saith he, did e-  
 "lect thee to this weighty charge, he hath  
 "committed no small part of his Church  
 "unto thee; οὐκ ἀνθρώπων χειρὶς ἔργον, no mor-  
 "tall man had any hand in that designati-  
 "on: and therefore take thou heed that  
 "thou disgrace not, nor dishonour so Di-  
 vine a calling. More might be said, both  
 from (k) *Theodoret* and *Oecumenius*, to con-  
 firme this Truth; but that I thinke it is suf-  
 ficiently confirmed already.

(h) *Theodor. &c.*  
*Oecum. in locum*

V.

So then, the *Presbyters* of these times, be-  
 ing of Gods especiall choyce, his owne de-  
 signation; and those upon the laying on  
 of such holy hands, furnished by the *Spirit*  
 with such gifts and graces as might enable  
 them sufficiently to discharge their calling:  
 the marvell is the lesse, if in those early  
 dayes, at the first dawning, as it were, of  
 Christianity, we finde so little speech of  
*Bishops*. In the ordayning of these *Pres-  
 byters*, as also of the like in other places, the  
*Apostles* might, and did no question, com-  
 municate unto them, such, and so much au-  
 thority, as might invest them with a power  
 of government; during the times of their

owne

owne necessary absence from those severall Churches. So that however they were *Presbyters* in Degree and Order, yet they both were and might be trusted with an *Episcopall* jurisdiction in their severall Cities; even as some *Deanes*, although but simply *Presbyters*, are with us in *England*. And of this ranke I take it were the *Presbyters* in the Church of *Ephesus*, (l) whom the Apostle calleth by the name of *Bishops*: that is to say, *Presbyters* by their Order and Degree, but *Bishops* in regard of their jurisdiction. Such also those ordained by Saint *Paul* in the Church of (m) *Philippus*, whom the Apostle mentioneth in the very entrance of his Epistle to that people. Which as it may bee some occasion, why *Bishops* properly so called, were not ordained by the *Apostles*, in the first planting of some Churches: so there are other reasons alleged for it, and are briefly these. For first, although the *Presbyters* in those times were by the Holy Ghost endued with many excellent gifts and graces, requisite to the Preaching of the Word, yet the *Apostles* might not thinke fit to trust them with the chiefe government, till they had fully seene, and perfectly made tryall of their abilities and parts that way. And this is that which *Epiphanius* (n) meaneth in his dispute against *Acrius*, saying, *ἡνὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*.

(l) Act. 20. 28.

(m) Phil. 1. 1.

(n) Epiphan. adv. hares. 75. n. 5.

" *ἵνα οὐκ ἔσται ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, &c.* that  
 " where there were no fit men to discharge  
 " that Office, the place remained without  
 " a *Bishop*: but where necessity required, and  
 " that there wanted not fit men to supply  
 " the place, there Bishops forthwith were  
 appointed. But that which I conceive to  
 be the principall reason, was this, that the  
*Apostle* did reserve unto himselfe the chiefe  
 authority in all the Churches of his plan-  
 ting, so long as he continued in, or about  
 those places: And this he exercised either  
 by personall *visitations*, mention whereof  
 is made in the 14. 21. and 15. 36. of the  
 Booke of *Acts*; or else by his *rescripts* and  
*mandates*, as in his sentencing of the incestu-  
 ous *Corinthian*, although absent thence.  
 But when hee was resolved to take (o) a  
 journey to *Hierusalem*, and from thence to  
*Rome*; not knowing when hee should re-  
 turne to those Easterne parts, and knowing  
 well that multitude of governours doe oft  
 breed confusions, and that equality of Mi-  
 nisters did oft end in factions: he then re-  
 solved to give them *Bishops*, to place a  
 Chiefe, in and above each severall *Presby-*  
*tery*, over every City; committing unto  
 them that power aswell of *Ordinations*, as  
 inflicting *censures*, which he had formerly  
 reserved to himselfe alone. This great *A-*  
*postle*, as for some space of time he taught  
 the

(o) *Act. 19. 21.*



the Church, without helpe of *Presbyters*; so for another while he did rule the same without helpe of *Bishops*. A time there was wherein there were no *Bishops*, but the *Apostles* onely, to direct the Church; and so there was a time wherein there were no *Presbyters*, but they, to instruct the same.

However it must be confessed that there was a time, in which some Churches had no *Bishops*. And this, if any, was the time that Saint (p) *Hierome* speaks of, *Cum communi Presbyterorum consilio ecclesia gubernabantur*, when as the Churches were governed by the common counsaile of the *Presbyters*. But sure it was so short a time, that had not the good Father taken a distaste against *Episcopacy*, by reason of some differences, which hee had with *John* the Bishop of *Hierusalem*: hee could not easily have observed it. For whether *Bishops* were ordained (q) *In Schismatis remedium*, as he saith elsewhere, for the preventing of those Schismes, and factions which were then risen in the Church; or that they were appointed by the *Apostles* to supply their absence, when they withdrew themselves unto further Countries: this government of the Church in common by the *Presbyters*, will prove of very short continuance. For from the first planting of the Church in *Corinth*, which was in *Anno 53.* unto the

VI.

(p) *Hieron. in*  
*lit. 9. 1.*

(q) *Id. ad Euse-*  
*rium.*

(r) *Baronius*  
so computes it,  
*Annal.*

(s) *Hieron. in*  
*Titum. c. 1.*

the writing (r) of his first Epistle to that Church and people, in which hee doth complaine of the schismes amongst them, (s) was but foure whole yeares. And yet it doth appeare by that place in *Hierome*, for ought I can see, that the divisions of the people in Religion, some saying *I am of Paul*, and *I of Apollo*, and *I of Cephas*, every one cleaving unto him by whom he had received Baptisme, were the occasion that it was decreed throughout the world, as that Father saith, *Ut unus de Presbyteris electus, superponeretur ceteris*, that one of the Presbyters should be set over the rest, to whom the care of all the Church should appertain, that so the seedes of schisme might be rooted up. And from the time when *Paul* ordained those Presbyters, in *Lystra* and *Iconium*, and those other Churches, which was in *Anno 48.* according as *Baronius* calculates it, unto *Saint Pauls* returne unto *Hierusalem*, which was in *Anno 58.* are but ten whole yeares. Before which time, immediately upon his resolution to undertake that journey, and from thence to *Rome*, he had appointed Bishops in the Churches of his owne plantation: so that the government of the Presbyters, in the largest and most liberall allowance that can be given them; will be too short a time to plead prescription. Now that *Saint Paul* ordained Bishops

Bishops in many of the *Asian* Cities, or in the Churches of those Cities which himselfe had planted, before his last going thence into *Greece* and *Macedon*: may well be gathered out of *Irenaus*, who lived both neere those times, and in those parts, and possibly might have seene and knowne some of the Bishops of this first foundation. Now *Irenaus* his (1) words are these.

*In Mileto enim convocatis Episcopis & Presbyteris, qui erant ab Epheso & reliquis proximis civitatibus, &c.* “*Paul* saith he, calling together in *Miletum*, the Bishops and Presbyters, which were of *Ephesus*, and other the adjoyning Cities, told them what things were like to happen to him in *Hierusalem*, whither he meant to goe before the Feast. Out of which words of *Irenaus* I collect thus much. First, that those Presbyters whom *Paul* called to *Miletum*, to meete him there, were not all of *Ephesus*, though all called from *Ephesus*: *Ephesus* being first appointed for the Rendezvous, or place of meeting: and secondly, that amongst those Presbyters there were some whom *Paul* had dignified with the stile and place of Bishops: In which regard the Assembly being of a mixt condition, they are entituled by both names, especially those Presbyters which had as yet no Bishops over them, having the charge and

(1) *Iren. l. 3. c.*  
14.

jurisdiction of their Churches, under the *Apostles*, as before was said. And this perhaps may be one reason, why the *Apostle* in his speech to that assembly, makes no words of *Timothy*: who being present with the rest, received his charge together with them: as also why he gave the *Presbyters* of *Ephesus* no particular charge, how to behave themselves before their *Bishop*; there being many *Bishops* there, which were not under the command of *Timothy*. However we may gather thus much out of *Irenaeus*, that though wee find not in the Scripture the particular names of such as had *Episcopall* authority committed to them, but *Timothy* & *Titus*: yet that there were some other *Bishops* at that time of *S. Paul's* ordination, who doubtlesse tooke as great a care for *Thessalonica* and *Philippus*, for *Lystra* and *Iconium*, as for *Crete* and *Ephesus*. And that these two were by *Saint Paul* made *Bishops* of those places, will appeare most fully, by the concurrent testimonie of auncient Writers.

## VII.

And first for *Timothy*, that he was *Bishop* of the Church of *Ephesus*, and the first *Bishop* there, appeareth by an ancient treatise of his death and martyrdome, bearing the name of *Polycrates*, who was himselfe not onely *Bishop* of this Church of *Ephesus*, but borne also within fixe or seven

ven and thirty yeares after the writing of the *Revelation* by Saint *John*. Which treatise of *Polycrates* entituled, *De martyrio Timothei*, is extant amongst the lives of Saints, printed at *Lovaine*, An. 1585. and cited by the learned Primate of *Armagh* in his briefe Discourse touching the originall of *Episcopacie*. Certaine I am that (u) *Sigebertus* doth report *Polycrates* to be the author of a booke entituled, *De passione Sancti Timothei Apostoli*; but whether that it ever came unto the hands of those of *Lovaine*, I am not able to determine. More like it is, the book is perished, and the fragments of the Treatise which remaine in *Photius*, (x) touching the death and martyrdom of *Timothy*, is all which have escaped that shipwracke. And yet in those poore fragments there is prooffe enough that *Timothy* was Bishop of the Church of *Ephesus*: in which it is expressely said, *ἦν ὁ Ἀπίστολος Τίμοθεος ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Παύλου καὶ χειροτονίῃ* ἡ Ἐφεσίων μετροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ἐθεσίουζα, that *Timothy* was both ordained and inthroned Bishop of the *Metropolis* of *Ephesus* by the great Apostle. Secondly, this appeareth by the testimony of *Eusebius*, who reckning up Saint *Pauls* assistants, his συνεργοί, and coadjutors, as it were, bringeth in *Timothy* for one; and this addes thus of him, (y) *Τίμόθεος καὶ ὁ ἐν Εφεσῷ παρεκλήσας ἱερεῖς* ἀφ' αὐτοῦ ἡ ἐπιτοπιῶν εὐαγγελίστα, that as histories recorded of him, he

(u) *Sigebertus*  
de *Eccl. Script.*

(x) *Photius* in  
*B. bib. lib. n. 274.*

(y) *Eccles. hist.*  
l. 3. c. 4.

(z) Epiph. her.  
75. n. 5

(a) Ambro. Pref.  
in Epist. 1. ad  
Timoth.

(b) Hieron. de  
Script. Eccles.

(c) Chrysost.  
Hom. in 1. ad  
Timoth. in Pref.  
ad eand.

(d) Co cil. Chal  
Act. 11.

he was the first Bishop of the *Diocese* of *Ephesus*. Thirdly, by (z) *Epiphanius*, who in a glance gives him the power and stile of Bishop, where he relateth, *ὁ δὲ λέγει Τιμόθεον ἐπισκόπον*, that the Apostle speaking unto *Timothy*, being then a Bishop, doth advise him thus, *Rebuke not an Elder, &c.* Fourthly, by (a) *Ambrose*, if the worke be his, who in the preface to his Commentaries on the Epistles unto *Timothy*, thus resolves the point, *Hunc ergo jam creatum Episcopum, instruit per Epistolam*; that being now ordained a Bishop, he was instructed by Saint Pauls Epistle, how to dispose and order the Church of God. Fifthly, by (b) *Hierome*, who in his Tract *De Eccles. Scriptoribus*, doth affirme of *Timothy*, *Ephesiorum Episcopum ordinatum à Beato Paulo*, that he was ordained Bishop of the *Ephesians* by Saint Paul. Sixthly, by (c) *Chrysostome*, as in many places, so most significantly and expressly in his Comment on the Epistle to the *Philippians*, saying, *Paul saith in his Epistle unto Timothy, Fulfill thy ministrie, ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ἐπισκοπὴ*, being then a Bishop: *ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ἐπισκοπὴ* *ἡ*, for that he was a Bishop appeares by Pauls writing thus unto him, *Lay hands hastily on no man*. Seventhly, (d) by *Leontius* Bishop of *Magnesia*, one of the Fathers in the great Councell of *Chalcedon*, affirming publicely, *ὅτι τὸ ἔργον Τιμόθεου μὴ ἐστὶν πῦρ*, that from blessed *Timothy*



*Timothy* unto his times, there had beene 26. Bishops of the Church of *Ephesus*. Eighthly, by (e) *Gregory* the Great, where he saith that *Paul* admonisheth his scholler *Timothy*, *Prelatum gregi*, being now made the *Prelate* of a flocke, to attend to reading. Ninthly, by \**Sedulius* an ancient writer of the *Scottish* Nation, who lived about the middle of the first Century, affirming on the credit of old historie, *Timotheum istum fuisse Episcopum in Epheso*, that *Timothy* to whom *Paul* wrote, had beene Bishop of *Ephesus*. Tenthly, by *Primasius*, (f) a writer of the first 600. yeares, who in the Preface to his Commentaries on the first to *Timothy*, gives us this short note, *Timotheus Episcopus fuit, & Discipulus Pauli*, that *Timothy* was a Bishop, and *Pauls* Disciple: and in his Comment on the text, saith that he had the grace, or the gift of Prophecie, *cum ordinatione Episcopatus*, with his ordination to a Bishopricke. 11. By (g) the subscription of the second Epistle, where he is called positively, ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος ἐν ἐφεσῶν, the first that was ordained Bishop of the *Ephesians*. 12. By (h) *Theophylact*, who giveth this reason of Saint *Pauls* writing unto *Timothy*, because that in a Church new constitute ἡ ἐκκλησία ὡς ἡ ἐν ἐφεσῶν, &c. it was not easie to informe a Bishop of all things incident unto his place by word of mouth: and further in his Comment on the fourth

(e) *De cura Pastoralis pars 2. c. 13.*

\* *Com. in 1. a Tim. c. 1.*

(d) *Primas. in Tim. 1. Ep. 1. c. 4.*

(g) *Subscript. ep. 2. ad Ti m.*

(h) *In Prefat. in 1. ad Tim.*

In cap. 4. v. 14.  
15.

(i) Oecumenius  
ad Tim. c. 1.

(k) Beza Annot.  
in 1. ad Tim. c.  
c. 5. v. 19.

## VIII.

(l) 1 Tim. 1. 3.

(m) Act. 18. 19.  
& 19. 1, 2, 3, & c.

Chapter of the first Epistle, doth twice or thrice give *Timothy* the name of *Bishop*. 13. By (i) *Oecumenius*, whom on these words of the Epistle, *I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus*, gives this gloss or descant: ἐν τῷ δὲ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ (καθὼς ἐκεῖθεν ἦν), for there, (or of that place) he ordained him Bishop. An evidence so cleare and full, that *Beza* (k) though he would not call him Bishop, confesseth him to be *President*, or Πρεσβυτέρ, of the *Ephesine* Presbytery, and that he had authority to receive accusations and complaints against a *Presbyter*, and to judge accordingly. Which what it is else then to be a Bishop, is beyond my fancie to imagine.

Now for the time in which he was appointed *Bishop* of the Church of *Ephesus* (for on the right stating of that point, the clearing of many difficulties doth depend) it may be best gathered from those words in the first Epistle, where *Paul* relates, that he *besought him to abide still at Ephesus, when he himselfe went into Macedonia*. Now *S. Pauls* journey into *Macedonia*, which is here intended, is is not that mentioned *Act. 16.* for then there was no Church of *Ephesus* to be Bishop of. *Paul* had not then seene (m) *Ephesus* at all, nor planted any Church there till a good while after. Nor could it be when he left *Ephesus*, to goe the second time into *Macedonia*.

nia,

nia, mention whereof is made in the 20. Chapter, for he had sent (n) *Timotheus*, and *Erastus* before him thither. But it was after he had stayed *three moneths in Greece*, (o) when hearing that the *Jewes* laid wait for him as he went about to saile into *Syria*, hee changed his course, and purposed to returne through *Macedonia*. Then was it, as he went that time into *Macedonia*, that hee brake the businesse unto *Timothy*, requiring or beseeching him to goe to *Ephesus*, to set up his aboad in that populous City, and undertake the government of the Church thereof. To which when *Timothy* had condescended, he was sent before (p) with *Aristarchus* and the rest, tarrying at *Troas* in expectation of the Apostles comming. And there he was most like to be, when the Apostles first Epistle came unto his hands, being written not from *Laodicea*, as the subscription doth pretend, but in *Macedonia*, as (q) *Athanasius* doth expressly say in his *Synopsis*. For howsoever the (r) Apostle hoped to come to him shortly, and to instruct him more at large for that weighty businesse: yet well considering how many lets, and hindrances might intervene, he thought it not amisse to prevent the worst; and send that letter of instructions in the meane time to him; (s) that hee might know how to behave himselfe in the house of

(n) *Act. 19. 22.*(o) *Act. 20. 3.*(p) *Act. 20. 5.*(q) *Athan. in Synop Sacre Script.*(r) *1 Tim. 3.*(s) *1 Tim. 1. 15*

(t) 2 Tim. 4. 21.

\* B. Downham,  
in the Sermon  
at Lambeth.  
p. 76, 77, 78,  
and others.

(u) Tim. 4.

\* Taking it, as  
it seemeth, in  
his way to  
Crete.

of God. After this time, I find not that the Apostle did employ *Timothy* in any other generall service which concerned the Church: or that he called him from *Ephesus*, being once got thither, save that he sent for him to make hast to *Rome* (t) immediately on his first coming to that City, to be assistant to him there in that dangerous exigencie. A thing that both the one might crave, and the other doe, without detracting any thing at all from the *Episcopall* place and power which *Timothy* had taken on him: all the Epistles wherein the name of *Timothy* is joyned with *Pauls*, being writ within the compasse of two yeares, which was so short an absence from his *Pastorall* charge, as might be very easily dispensed withal, especially when the publique service of the Church was concerned so highly. I know that some of eminent note\* the better to avoid some appearing difficulties that concerneth this businesse, will not have *Timothy* made Bishop of the Church of *Ephesus* till after the Apostles comming unto *Rome*. But the second of the two Epistles doth very thoroughly refute that fancie; in which Saint *Paul* acquaints him how he had disposed of his retinue; (u) *Titus* being gone into *Dalmatia*, \* *Crescens* to *Galatia*, *Erastus* taking up his aboad at *Corinth*, and *Trophimus* left at *Miletum* sicke: taking great care to have the Cloake and *Parchments*

ments which were left at *Troas*, where *Timothy* stayed for him, *Act.* 20. to be sent speedily unto him. Where by the way, *Miletum*, where *Paul* left *Trophimus* sicke, was not that towne of *lesser Asia*, unto the which the *Elders* were called from *Ephesus*, for after that we find him at *Hierusalem*, *Act.* 21. 29. nor was it at the Iland called *Meleta*, (x) as *Baronius* thinkes, on which *Saint Paul* was cast by shipwracke, *Act.* 28. such alterations or corrections not being easily allowable in holy Scripture. For being that there is in the Ile of *Crete* a towne called *Miletus*, as *Strabo* (y) testifieth; and that *Saint Paul* in his voyage from *Hierusalem* to *Rome*, sayled under *Crete*, and hovered for a while about that coast, *Act.* 27. 7, 8, &c. that is most like to be the place, and there I leave him.

(x) *Annal Eccl.*  
*An.* 59. n. 1.

(y) *Cenditorem*  
*ex Miletu, quæ*  
*in Creta est,*  
*Sarpedonem ac-*  
*ceptentes. Geogr.*  
*l. 2.*

## IX.

For being thus fallen on the coast of *Crete*, I thinke it seasonable to enquire some newes of *Titus*: whom the *Apostle* much about the time that *Timothy* undertooke the charge of *Ephesus*, had made the Bishop of this Iland. (z) *Baronius* thinkes, and not improbably, that at *Saint Pauls* last going out of *Asia* into *Macedonia* (a) when he had gone over those parts, and given them much exhortation, and having so done went into *Greece*: that this his going into *Greece* was by and through the *Aegean* sea; that in his passage thither he put in at *Crete*: and fi-

(z) *An.* 57. n.  
209.

(a) *Act.* 20. 2.

nally, that he left *Titus* here, *ad curandam Ecclesiam*, whom hee made Bishop for that purpose. This is most like to be the time, the circumstances of the text and story so well agreeing thereunto: for till this time, *Titus* was either attendant on *S. Paul* in person, or sent from place to place on his occasions and dispatches; as may appeare by looking on the concordances of holy Scripture. Now that *Titus* was ordained the first Bishop of *Crete*, hath beene affirmed by severall authors of good both credit and antiquity. For first *Eusebius* (b) making a Catalogue of Saint *Pauls* assistants, or fellow-labourers, and reckoning *Timothy* amongst them, whom he recordeth for the first Bishop of the Church of *Ephesus*, addes presently, *ὡς καὶ Τίτῳ ὁ ἁγίος Κρίστος ἐνεκεν αὐτοῦ*, and so was *Titus* also, the first Bishop of *Crete*. (c) Saint *Ambrose* in the Preface to his Commentaries, on the Epistle unto *Titus*, doth affirme as much, *Titum Apostolus consecravit Episcopum*, the Apostle consecrated *Titus* a Bishop, and therefore doth admonish him to be solicitous for the well ordering of the Church committed to him. (d) Saint *Hierome*, writing on these words in that Epistle, *For this cause left I thee in Crete, &c.* doth apply them thus, *Audiant Episcopi qui habent constituendi Presbyteros per singulas urbes potestatem*, Let Bishops marke this well who have authority

(b) *Eccles. hist.*  
l. 3. c. 4.

(c) *Ambr. pref.*  
*in ep. ad Titum.*

(d) *Hieron. in*  
*Tit. c. 1. v. 5.*

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rity to ordaine Presbyters in every City, on  
 what conditions, to what persons ( for that  
 I take to be his meaning) Ecclesiasticall or-  
 ders are to be conferred. Which is a strong  
 insinuation, that *Titus* having that authority,  
 must be needs a Bishop. More evidently in  
 his Catalogue of Writers, or in (e) *Sophro-  
 nims* at the least, if those few names were by  
 him added to that Catalogue. *Titus Episco-  
 pus Creta*, *Titus* the Bishop of *Crete* did  
 preach the Gospell both in that, and the  
 adjacent Ilands. (f) *Theodore* proposing  
 first this question, why *Paul* should rather  
 write to *Timothy* and *Titus*, then to *Luke* and  
*Silas*; returns this answer to the same, that  
*Luke* and *Silas* were still with him, *τίτῳ μὲν ὡς  
 ἐκκλησιαστικῷ καὶ ἡγεμένῳ*, but those had entrusted  
 with the government of Churches. But  
 more particularly (g) *Titus* a famous Disci-  
 ple of Saint *Paul*, *ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ἱερεὺς Κρήτης*, was by  
 him ordained Bishop of *Crete*, being a place  
 of great extent; with a Commission also to  
 ordaine Bishops under him. (h) *Theophylact*  
 in his preface unto this Epistle, doth affirme  
 the same: using almost his very words.  
 And *Oecumenius* (i) on the text doth declare  
 as much, saying, that *Paul* gave *Titus* autho-  
 rity of ordaining Bishops, *Crete* being of too  
 large a quantitie to be committed unto one  
 alone; *ἐπίσκοπον ἀνέστην τοιοῦτον*, having first  
 consecrate or made him Bishop. Finally, the  
*Subscription*

(e) *Id. de Scrip.  
 Eccles. in Tit.*

(f) *Apud Oecum.  
 men. Praef. ad  
 Tim.*

(g) *Ap. cund. in  
 Praef. ad Tim.*

(h) *Theoph. in  
 praef. ad Tit.*

(i) *Oecum. in  
 Tit. c. 1 v. 5.*

X.

(k) Annotat. in  
Ep. ad Tit. in fine

(l) In Synopsi  
sacr. script.

(m) Ad Paulum  
& Eusebium.

(n) Comment.  
in Ep. ad Tit.

*subscription* of this Epistle calls *Titus* the first Bishop of the Church of the *Cretians*: which evidence, though questioned now of late, is of good Authority.

For some of late, who are not willing that antiquity should afford such grounds, for *Titus* being Bishop of the Church of *Crete*, have amongst other arguments devised against it, found an irreparable flaw, as they conceive, in this *subscription*. *Beza* (k) who herein led the way, disproves the whole *subscription* as suppositious, because it is there said, that it was written from *Nicopolis* of *Macedonia*. A thing, saith he, which cannot be, for the Apostle doth not say, *ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, *I will winter here*, but *ἐκεῖ*, *illic*, *I will winter there*: and therefore he was somewhere else when he wrote this Epistle. But *Athanasius* (l) who lived nearer the Apostles times, affirms it to be written from *Nicopolis*; and so doth *Hierome* (m) in his Preface unto that Epistle. The *Syriack* translation dates it also thence, as is confessed by them that adhere to *Beza*. *Theophylact*, (n) and *Oecumenius* agree herein with *Athanasius*, and the ancient Copies. As for the criticisme it is neither *here*, nor *there*; for Saint *Paul* being still in motion, might appoint *Titus* to repaire unto *Nicopolis*, letting him understand that howsoever he disposed of himselfe in the mean time,

time, yet he intended *there to winter*; and so he might well say, though he was at *Nicopolis* when he writ the same. That *Titus* is there called the first Bishop of *Crete*, or of the Church of the (o) *Cretians*, is another hint, that some have tooke to vilifie the credit of the said *Subscription*; asking if ever there were such a second Bishop? Assuredly, the Realme of *England* is as faire and large a circuite, as the Isle of *Crete*: And yet I doe not finde it used as argument, that *Austin* the Monke had neither any hand in the converting of the *English*, or was not the first Archbishop of the See of *Canterbury*; because it is affirmed in *Beda's History*, (p) *Archiepiscopus genti Anglorum ordinatus est*, that he was ordained the Archbishop of the *English Nation*. And for an answer to the question, we need but looke into *Eusebius* (q), where we shall finde *Pinytus* a right godly man, called in plaine termes Bishop of *Crete*; *Crete Episcopus*, saith the *Latine*, *Ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Κρήτης*, as the *Greeke Originall*: the selfe-same stile, which is excepted at in *Titus*. Now, whereas it is said, that *Titus* was left no otherwise in *Crete*, then as *Pauls* Vicar Generall, Commissary, or Substitute, to order those things in such sort as he had appointed, which he could not dispatch himselfe, when he was there present; this can by no meanes be

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admit-

(o) *Smethm.*  
p. 54.

(p) *Beza hist.*  
*eccl. l. 1. c. 27.*

(q) *Hist. Eccle.*  
*l. 4. c. 20. xx.*

admitted: the rules prescribed unto him, and *Timothy*, being for the most part of that nature, as doe agree with the condition of perpetuall Governours, and not of temporary and removeable Substitutes. As for the anticipation of the time, which I see some use, relating that Saint *Paul* with *Titus*, having passed through *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, to confirme the Churches, did from *Cilicia*, passe over into *Crete*; where the Apostle having Preached the Gospell, left *Titus* for a while to set things in Order: although I cannot easily tell on what Authority the report is built, yet I can easily discern that it can hardly stand with Scripture. Wee read indeed in the 15. Chapter of the *Acts*, that he went *thorow Syria and Cilicia confirming the Churches*; *ver. ult.* and in the first words of the following Chapter, we find him at *Derbe* and *Lystra* (q) Cities of *Lycaonia*, the very next Province to *Cilicia* Northward, from which it is divided by a branch of the Mountain *Taurus*. Now whether of the two it be more probable, that *Paul* should passe immediately from *Cilicia* unto *Lycaonia*, upon the usuall comon road; or fetch a voyage into *Crete*, as (r) these men suppose, and be transported backe againe into *Lycaonia*, being an in-land Country farre from any Sea, (which could not bee without some miracle, or great *hiatus* in the

(q) *Act. 14. 6.*  
*1st. Eccl. 1. 4. r.*  
*20. ka.*

(r) *Smell. Hymn.*  
*p. 50.*

the story) I leave to any man to be imagined.

## X I.

*Timothy* and *Titus* being thus settled in their *Episcopall* Sees, we must passe on, to see if we can meet with any other of *Saint Pauls* Disciples, or his assistants if you will, that were entrusted with the like Authority. And first we meete with *Dionysius*, the *Arcopagite*, ordained by *Saint Paul*, (as is most likely) the first Bishop of *Athens*; but howsoever, questionlesse ordained the first Bishop there. Another *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Corinth*; who in all probability was borne whilst *Saint John* was living, (s) doth expressly say it: viz. that *Dionysius* the *Arcopagite* being converted to the Faith by the Apostle *Paul*, πρῶτος τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς τῆς Ἀθηνῶν ἐπίσκοπος, was first ordained Bishop of the Church of *Athens*. The foresaid *Dionysius* the *Corinthian* doth also tell us, that (t) *Publius* succeeded the *Arcopagite*, after him *Quadratus*; both which were disciples of the Apostles: the former of the two, being conceived to be the same, whole Father, *Paul* (u) cured so miraculously, in the Isle of *Malta*. Next for the Church of *Theffalonica*, the *Martyrologies* informe us that *Aristarchus*, (x) one of *Pauls* Companions, ab eodem Apostolo Theffalonicensium Episcopus ordinatus, was by him ordained Bishop of the *Theffalonians*. And after him suc-

(s) Ap. Euseb. 4.  
Eccl. hist. l. 4. c.  
22. xy. as also,  
l. 3. c. 4.

(t) Ap. Euseb. l.  
c. 22. xy.

(u) Act. 28. 9. J

(x) August. 4.

(y) Rom. 16. 23  
(z) Comment. in  
Epi. ad Rom. c.  
16.

(a) Phil. 2. 25.

(b) Theodor. in  
1 ad Tim. c. 3.

ceeded *Caius*, whom Saint *Paul* mentioneth in his *Epistle* to the *Romans*, by the name of *Gaius*, ( y ) *the host*, as he calls him, *of the whole Church*. Certaine I am, that *Origen* ( z ) reports him to be *Bishop* here, and that upon the knowne tradition of his *Elders*. *Fertur sane ex traditione majorum, quod hic Caius Episcopus fuerit Theſſalonicenſis Eccleſia*, as his owne words are. So for the Church of the *Philippians*, Saint *Paul* hath told us of *Epaphroditus*, one whom he mentioneth oftentimes ( a ) in his *Epistle* to that people, that he was not onely his *Brother*, and *Companion* in labour, and his fellow *Souldier*; *Vestrum autem Apostolum*, but he was also their *Apostle*. Aske of *Theodore* ( b ) what Saint *Paul* there meaneth, and he will tell you that he was their *Bishop*. For in his *Comment* on the first to *Timothy*, he gives this note, *Eos qui nunc vocantur Episcopi, nominabant Apostolos*, that in those times in which Saint *Paul* writ that *Epistle*, those who are now called *Bishops*, were called *Apostles*. And this he proves out of this passage of Saint *Paul*, that so, in this respect, [ *ita Philippensium Apostolus erat Epaphroditus* ] *Epaphroditus* is called the *Apostle* of the *Philippians*. Which cleerely sheweth, that in his opinion, *Epaphroditus* was *Bishop* of the *Philippians*, as *Titus* of the *Cretans*, and *Timothy* of the *Ephesians*, in whom he afterwards



wards doth instance. *Beza* indeed doth render the Greeke word *Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*, by the Latine, *Legatus*; in which he hath beene followed by the latter *English*, who read it messenger. (c) But *Calvin* doth not onely keepe himselfe to the old translation, though he take notice of the other; but he preferres the old before it; *Sed prior sensus melius convenit*, as more agreeable unto the meaning of the place. For the *Colossians* next, we finde the names of *Epaphras*, and *Archippus*, their two first Bishops, in the Epistle to that Church. And first for *Epaphras*, it is conceived that he first preached the Faith of *Christ* to the *Colossians*: And this Saint *Paul* doth seeme to intimate in the first Chapter of the same Epistle, saying, *As ye also learned of Epaphras our deare fellow servant*. Certaine it is, that in the *Martyrologies*, he is affirmed to be the Bishop of this Church, (d) *ab eodem Apostolo ordinatus*, and that he was ordained Bishop by the hands of *Paul*. But being after Prisoner with Saint *Paul* at *Rome*, *Archippus* undertooke the Episcopall charge, whom *Paul* (e) exhorteth to take heed unto the Ministry which hee had received of the Lord, and to fulfill it. Most sure I am, that *Ambrose* (f) writing on those words, doth make *Archippus* Bishop of *Colossi*, by the name of their *Præpositus*, or governour, of which

(c) Calvin in  
Philip. c. 2.

1er. 7.

(d) Iulii. 19.

(e) Colof. 4. 17

(f) Ambros. in  
Colof. 4.

(g) v. cap. 3 n. 5

which see (g) before: adding withall that after *Epaphras* had seasoned them in the Truth of God, *hic accepit regendam eorum Ecclesiam*, *Archippus* tooke the government of that Church upon him.

## XII.

(h) *Dorotheus* in Synopsi.

For other of Saint *Pauls* Disciples, we finde in *Dorotheus*, if he may be credited, that *Silas*, *Pauls* most individuall companion (h), was Bishop of the Church of *Corinth*, the truth whereof shall be examined more at large, in the second Century: and that *Sosipater*, mentions of whom is made, *Acts* 20, was ordained Bishop of *Iconium*, wherein *Hippolitus* concurring with him, doth make the matter the more probable. Of *Sosthenes*, (of whom see *Acts* 18. & *Cor.* 1.) the same two Authors doe report, that he was Bishop of *Colophon*, one of the Cities of the lesser *Asia*. But leaving these more *Easterne* Countries, let us look homeward towards the *West*. And there we find that *Crescens*, whom Saint *Paul*, at his first comming unto *Rome*, (i) had sent into *Galatia* to confirme the Churches; was after by him sent on the like occasion into *Gaul*, or *Gallia*, there to Preach the Gospell: for so I rather choose to atone the businesse, than correct the Text, and reade it *Crescens in Galliam* (k) with *Epiphanius*. For having with so good successe beene employed formerly in *Galatia*; he might with bet-

(i) 2 Tim. 4.

(k) *Epiphan.* *haer.* 51. n. 11.

ter

ter comfort undertake the service of Preaching Christ unto the *Gaules*, whereof the *Galatians* were a branch or *Colonie*. Now that he did indeed Preach Christs Gospell there, is affirmed positively both by (l) *Epiphanius* and (m) *Theodoret*, two very eminent and ancient writers: and (n) *Ado Viennensis*, a Writer though of lesser standing, yet of good repute, affirmeth that he was put upon this employment, *quotem-pore Paulus in Hispanias pervenisse creditur*, at such time as it is conceived that the Apostle *Paul* went into *Spaine*, which was in Anno 61. as *Baronius* thinketh, there being left, and having planted a Church of Christ, in the City of *Vienna*, (now in that Province which is called *Daulphine*) he became the first Bishop of the same; (o) *Primus ejusdem Civitatis Episcopus*, saith the *Martyrologie*. And to this, *Ado*, one of his successors, also doth agree; adding withall (p) that after hee had sate there some few yeares, he returned backe againe into *Galatia*, leaving one *Zacharias* to succeed him. Finally, not to leave out *Britaine*, it is recorded in the Greeke *Menologies*, that *Aristobulus* (whom Saint *Paul* speakes of "*Rom. 16.*) being one of the *Seventy*, and "afterwards a follower of Saint *Paul*, (q) "was by him ordained Bishop of *Britaine*, "*(Χρηστὸς τῷ ἱεροῦ Θεοῦ τῆς τῆς Βριτανίας ἐκκλησίας)*, "as

(l) *Epiphan.*  
*haer. 51.*

(m) *Theodor. in*  
*Epl. 2 ad Tim.*

(n) *Ado in*  
*chron.*

(o) *Decemb. 29*

(p) *in Chronico.*

(q) *Menolog.*  
*Grac. in Martii.*  
14.

(r) *De Britan-  
nicæ eccl. prim. c.  
1.*

“as the words there are.) a region full of  
“fierce and savage people; and that ha-  
“ving there settled the Church, and ordai-  
“ned Presbyters and Deacons in the same,  
“he did there also end his life. The Reve-  
rend Primate of (r) *Armagh*, out of a frag-  
ment attributed to *Heleca*, sometimes Bi-  
shop of *Saragossa* in *Spain*, doth recite a  
passage, wherein it is affirmed of this *Ari-  
stobulus, missum in Angliam Episcopum*, that  
he was sent Bishop into *England*, for so the  
Authour calleth this Country according to  
the name it had when he writ the same. But  
these things which relate to the *British*  
Churches, I rather shall referre to our lear-  
ned Antiquaries, to be considered of more  
fully; than affirme any thing my selfe.

## XIII.

(s) *Smethymn.  
p. 48.*

But to looke backe on *Timothy* and *Ti-  
tus*, whom wee left lately in their severall  
Churches, I heare it said, that notwith-  
standing all those proofes before produced  
from the ancient, yet being *Evangelists*, as  
they were, they could be no *Bishops* (s):  
*Bishops* being tyed to the particular care of  
that flocke or Church, over which God  
had made them Overseers; but the *EVAN-  
gelists* being Planetary, sent up and downe  
from place to place, by the *Apostles*, as the  
necessities of the Church required. Besides  
that moving in an higher sphere than that  
of *Bishops*, and being Co-partners with  
Saint

Saint Paul in his *Apostleship* or *Apostolicall* function (†), it had bene a devesting of themselves of their *Apostolicall* jurisdiction, and preheminance, to become *Bishops* at the last, and so descend from a superior to an inferiour Office. For answer whereunto we need say but this, that the gift of being an *Evangelist*, might, and did fall on any ranke of ordinary Ministers, as might that also of the *Prophet*. *Philip* one of the *seven*, a *Deacon*, as it is generally conceived, but howsoever Ministering unto the Church, in an inferiour place or Office, was notwithstanding an *Evangelist*: and *Agabus*, though perhaps but a simple *Presbyter*, one of the *Seventy* past all question, was a *Prophet* too. *Philip*, as hee was one of the *seven*, was tyed to a particular employment, and of necessity, sometimes, must (u) leave the Word of God to serve Tables. Yet the same *Philip*, as he was furnished by the Lord with gifts and graces, for gaining soules to God Almighty, and doing the worke of an *Evangelist*, must leave the serving of those Tables to Preach the Word. And *Agabus*, if he were a *Presbyter*, whether of (x) *Hierusalem*, from whence he is twice said to come, or of some other Church, that I will not say, might notwithstanding his employment in a particular Church, repaire to *Antioch*, or

V *Cæsarea*,

(†) Vnbishop-  
ping of *Tim.* &  
*Tit.* p. 36.

(u) *Act.* 6. 12.

(x) *Act.* 11. 27,  
28. & 31. 30.

*Casarea*, as the Spirit willed him, there to discharge the office of a Prophet. So then both *Timothy* and *Titus* might be *Bishops*, as to their ordinary place and calling, though in relation unto their extraordinary gifts, they were both *Evangelists*. As for their falling from an higher, to a lower function, from an *Evangelist* unto a *Bishop*, I cannot possibly perceive where the fall should be. They that object this, will not say, but *Timothy*, at the least, was made a *Presbyter*, for wherefore else did the *Presbyterie* (which they so much stand on) lay hands upon him. And certainly, if it were no diminution from an *Evangelist* to become a *Presbyter*, it was a preferment unto the *Evangelist*, from being but a *Presbyter* to become a *Bishop*. But for the *Bishopping* of *Timothy* and *Titus*, as to the *quod* *fit* of it, that so they were, in the opinion of all Ancient Writers, wee have said enough. We will next looke on the authority committed to them, to see what further prooffe hereof may be brought from that.





## CHAP. V.

Of the authority and jurisdiction given by the word of God, to Timothy and Titus, and in them, to all other Bishops.

I. *The authority committed unto Timothy and Titus, was to be perpetuall, and not personall onely.*

II. *The power of Ordination intrusted onely unto Bishops by the Word of God, according to the judgement of the Fathers.*

III. *Bishops alone both might, and did Ordaine, without their Presbyters.*

IV. *That Presbyters might not ordaine without a Bishop, proved by the memorable case of Colluthus and Ischyras.*

V. *As by those also of Maximus, and a Spanish Bishop.*

VI. *In what respects, the joynt assistance of the Presbyters was required herein.*

VII. *The case of the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, declared, and qualified.*

VIII. *The care of ordering Gods Divine Service, a worke peculiar to the Bishop.*

IX. *To whom the Ministration also of the Sacraments doth in chief belong.*

X. *Bishops to have a care that Gods word be preached: and to encourage those that take paines that way.*

XI. *Bishops to silence, and correct such Presbyters, as preach other doctrines.*

XII. *As also to reprove and reject the heretique.*

XIII. *The censure and correction of inferior Presbyters, doth belong to Bishops.*

XIV. *And of Lay-people also, if they walk unworthy of their Christian calling.*

XV. *Conjecturall proofes that the description of a Bishop, in the first to Timothy, is of a Bishop truly and properly so called.*

I.



Hey who object that *Timothy* and *Titus* were *Evangelists*, and so by consequence no *Bishops*, have also said, and left in writing, that the authority committed to them by *Saint Paul*, did not belong to them at all, as *Bishops*, (a) but *Evangelists* onely. But this, if pondered as it ought, hath no ground to stand on. The calling of *Evangelists*, as it was *Extraordinary*, so it was but *temporarie*, to last no longer, than the first planting of the Church, for which so many signall gifts and graces of the *holy Spirit*, were at first powred

(a) Vnbishop-  
ping of Tim.  
& Tit. p. 60,  
61, &c.

powred on the *Disciples*. I know not any *orthodoxe* Writer, who doth not in this point agree with (b) *Calvin*: who in his Comment on the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, gives us this instruction, *Deum Apostolis, Evangelistis & Prophetis, Ecclesiam suam non nisi ad tempus ornasse*, that God adorned his Church with *Prophets, Evangelists* and *Apostles*, for a season onely: having before observed, that of all those holy ministrations there recited, *Postrema tantum duo perpetua esse*, the two last, (*viz. Pastors* and *Teachers*, which he takes for two) were to be perpetuall. But on the other side, power to ordaine fit Ministers, of what sort soever, as also to reprove and censure those that behaved themselves unworthily; authority to convent and reject an hereticke, to punish by the censures of the Church, all such as give offence and scandall to the Congregation by their exorbitant and unruly living: this ought to be perpetuall in the Church of *Christ*. This the *Apostle* seemes to intimate, when he said to *Timothy*, (c) *I charge thee in the sight of God, and before Jesus Christ, that thou keepe this Commandement without spot, and unreprouable, untill the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ*. Now *Timothy* was not like to live till *Christs* second comming; the *Apostle*, past all question, never meant it so: therefore the power, and

(b) *Com. in 4. ad Eph. v. 11.*

(c) *1 Tim. 6. 14.*

charge here given to exercise the same, according to the *Apostles* rules and precepts was not personall onely: but such as was to appertaine to him, and to his *successours* for ever, even till the appearing of our Lord and Saviour. The like expression do wee find in Saint (d) *Matthew*, when our Redeemer said unto his *Apostles*, *Behold I am with you alwaies even unto the end of the world.* Not *alwaies* certainly with his *Apostles*, not to the *end of the world* with those very men, to whom he did addresse himselfe when he spake these words; for they being mortall men have beene dead long since. *Non solis hoc Apostolis dictum esse*, (e) this was no personall promise then, saith *Calvin* truly. With them and their *successours* hee might *alwaies* be, and to the *end of the world* give them his assistance. *Cum vobis & successoribus vestris*, (f) as *Denis the Carthusian* very well observeth. Saint *Paul* then gives this charge to *Timothy*, and in him unto all his *successours* in the *Episcopall* function; which should continue in the Church till *Christs* second cumming. And therefore I conceive the annotation of the *ordinary* glosse to be sound and good, *in Timotheo omnibus successoribus loquitur Apostolus*, (g) that this was spoke in *Timothy* unto all his *successors*. And so the *Commentaries* under the name of *Ambrose* do informe us also, saying, that

Paul

(d) *Mat. 28. ult.*

(e) *Harmon. Evangel.*

(f) *In Mat. 29.*

(g) *Glosa Ordinar. in 1 Tim. 6.*

*Paul* was not so solicitous for *Timothy*, as for his successours, (h) *ut exemplo Timothei Ecclesie ordinationem custodirent*: that they might learne by his example (*i. e.* by practising those directions which were given to him) to looke unto the ordering of the Church.

(h) In 1. Tim. 6

## II.

This ground thus laid, we must next looke on the authority which the Apostle gave to *Timothy* and *Titus*, and in them to all other *Bishops*. And the best way to looke upon it is, to divide the same as the *Schoole-men* do, into *potestas ordinis*, and *potestas jurisdictionis*; the power of order, and the power of jurisdiction: in each of which there occurre divers things to be considered. First, for the power of Order, besides what every *Bishop* doth, and may lawfully performe, by vertue of the Orders hee received as *Presbyter*; there is a power of Order conferred upon him as a *Bishop*: and that's indeed the power of Ordination, or giving Orders, which seemes so proper and peculiar to the *Bishops* office, as not to be communicable to any else. *Paul* gives it as a speciall charge to *Timothy* (i) to lay hands hastily on no man: which caution doubtlesse had beene given in vaine, in case the *Presbyters* of *Ephesus* might have done it, as well as he. And *Titus* seemes to have beene left in *Crete* for this purpose chiefly, (k) that he might ordaine *Presbyters* in every City: which questionlesse had

(i) Tim. 5. 22.

(k) Tit. 1. v. 5.

(l) *Hier.* 75.  
n. 4.

(m) *Hom.* 11. in  
*1 Tim.* c. 3.

(n) *Epistola ad*  
*Eugr.*

had been unnecessary, in case an ordinary *Presbyter* might have done the same. The Fathers have observed from these texts of *Scripture*, that none but *Bishops* strictly and properly so called (according as the word was used when they lived that said it) have any power of *Ordination*. *Epiphanius* (l) in his dispute against *Aerius*, observes this difference betwixt *Bishops* & *Presbyters*, (whom the hereticke would faine have had to be the same) that the *Presbyter* by administering the Sacrament of *Baptisme*, did beget children to the Church: but that the *Bishop* by the power of *ordination*, *ἐπίσκοπος γὰρ τὸ καθάρει*, did beget *Fathers* to the same. A power from which he utterly excludes the *Presbyter*, and gives good reason for it too: for how, saith hee, can he ordaine, or constitute a *Presbyter*, *ὃς οὐκ ἔχει τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἁγίαν*, which in his ordination did receive no power to impose hands upon another: (m) *Chrysostome* speaking of the difference betweene a *Bishop*, and a *Presbyter*, makes it consist in nothing else, but in this power of *Ordination*.  
 “ *τὸ δὲ γὰρ ἁγιοποιεῖν αὐτοὺς*, &c. Onely in laying on  
 “ of hands, saith hee, or in *ordination*, a *Bi-*  
 “ *shop* is before, or above a *Presbyter*, and  
 “ have that power onely inherent in them,  
 “ which the others have not. *Hierome* (n) although a great advancer of the place and office of the *Presbyter*, excludes him from the  
 the



the power of *ordination*, or any interest therein. *Quid enim facit excepta ordinatione Episcopus, quod Presbyter non faciat?* What, saith he, doth a *Bishop*, saving *ordination*, more than a *Presbyter* may do? Neither doth *Hierome* speake *de facto*, and not *de jure*, *quid facit*, not *quid debet facere*: (o) as I observe the place to be both cited and applied in some late discourses. *Hieromes non faciat*, is as good as *non debet facere*: and they that looke upon him well, will find he pleads not of the *possession* onely, but the *right* and title. And we may see his meaning by the passage formerly alleaged upon the words of *Paul* to *Titus*, cap. 1. v. 5. *Audiant Episcopi qui habent constituendi Presbyteros per singulas urbes potestatem*. By which it seems that *Bishops* onely had the power of ordaining *Presbyters*; and that they did both claime, and enjoy the same from this grant to *Titus*.

(o) *Smc Hyem.*  
p. 37.

## III.

For further clearing of this point, there are two things to be declared and made evident, first that the power of *ordination* was so inherent in the person of a *Bishop*, that he alone both might and did sometimes *ordaine*, without help of *Presbyters*: and secondly, that the *Presbyters* might not do the same without the *Bishop*. And first that anciently the *Bishops* of the Church both might, and did *ordaine*, without the helpe or

(p) Euseb. hist.  
Eccl. l. 6. c. 7. n.

(q) Id. l. 6. c. 35.  
127.

(r) Concil. Car-  
thag. 3. Ca. 45.

co-assistance of the *Presbyters*, appeareth by the ordination of *Origen* (p) unto the office of a *Presbyter* by *Theoctistus* Bishop of *Casarea*, and *Alexander* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, who laid hands upon him; *ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον*, as my Author hath it. Which act of theirs when it was quarrelled by *Demetrius*, he did not plead in barre, that there were no *Presbyters* assistant in it; but that the party had done somewhat (and we know what 'twas) by which hee was conceived to be incapable of *holy Orders*. So when (q) the Bishop, whosoever he was, out of an affectation which he bare unto *Novatus* (not being yet a *Separatist* from the Church of God) desired, *ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον*, the Clergie being all against it, to ordaine him *Presbyter*: the matter stood upon, as the story testifieth, was not the *Bishops* being the sole agent in it, but because it was forbidden by the ancient Canons, that any one who had beene formerly baptized being sicke in bed, (and that had beene *Novatus* case) should be assumed into the Clergie. But not to make a further search into particulars, which are vast and infinite: we have two notable cases that reflect this way, and in them two such generall *Maximes* as will make all sure. In the third Councell of *Carthage* holden in or about the yeare 390. it was proposed by (r) *Aurelius*

lius then Metropolitan of *Carthage*, that it might be lawfull for him to choole or take *Presbyters* out of the Churches of his *Suffragans*, and to ordaine them *Bishops* of such Cities as were unprovided: and that the *Bishops* of those Churches, whose *Clarkes*, or *Presbyters* they were, might not be suffered to oppose. To which when a'l the *Fathers* had agreed. *Posthumianus* one of the Prelates there assembled, puts this case, that if a Bishop had but one *Presbyter* onely, *Numquid debet illi ipse unus Presbyter auferri*, whether that one *Presbyter* should be taken from him. *Aurelius* thereunto replyeth, *Episcopum unum esse posse, per quem dignatione divina Presbyteri multi constitui possunt*, that a Bishop by Gods grace might make many *Presbyters*, and therefore that on such occasions, his one and onely *Presbyter* must be yeelded up upon demand. By which it is most cleare and evident, that a Bishop may alone performe the Act or Ceremony of *Ordination*, not having any *Presbyter* at all to joine with him in it. The like occurreth in the second Councell of *Sevill* (held in the year 617. or thereabouts) concerning (s) *Frangitannus* a *Presbyter* of the Church of *Corduba*, who by the Bishop of that See, (a ruffling Prelate, as appeareth by (t) the following Chapter) had beene deposed from his Ministerie: the cause being brought before

(s) *Concil. Hispanens. 2. c. 5.*

(t) *Cap. 6.*

fore the Councell, and the whole proceſſe openly declared unto them, the man was preſently reſtored to his *Orders*, and the ſentence paſſed againſt him declared to be irregular, and contrary to the ancient *Canons*, whereby it was enacted that no Clergie-man ſhould be depoſed without the judgement of a *Synod*. And then it followeth, *Episcopus ſacerdotibus & miniſtris ſolus dare honorem poteſt, auferre ſolus non poteſt*; that *Biſhops* ſolely of themſelves, may conferre *holy orders* on *Prieſts* and *Deacons*, but ſolely of their owne authority, they could not depoſe them.

## IV.

So then it is moſt cleare and evident, that *Biſhops* might and did ordaine, without their *Presbyters*, might not the *Presbyters* do the like ſometimes, without their *Biſhop*? Certainly nothing leſſe than ſo: or if they did attempt it at any time, the whole act was not onely censured and condemned as uncanonicall, but adjudged void and null, from the firſt beginning. For beſides that which hath beene ſaid before, from *Hierome*, *Chryſoſtome*, and *Epiphanius*, touching the limitation of this power to the *Biſhops* onely; there are three *booke-caſes* in the point, which put the matter out of queſtion: *Colluthus*, (1) once a *Presbyter* of *Alexandria*, falling at difference with his *Biſhop*, uſurpes upon the *Biſhops* office; and ordaines

(1) *Athanaſ. in Apol. 2. Edit. Gr. Lat. p. 784.*

ordaines certaine *Presbyters*, himselfe being one. This businesse being canvassed in the Councell of *Alexandria*, before that famous *Confessor Hosius*, and other *Bishops* there assembled: *Colluthus* was commanded to carry himselfe for a *Presbyter* only, as indeed he was; and all the *Presbyters* of his ordaining reduced to the same condition, *ὡς τὸ αὐτὸν πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐς ἐπίσκοπον ἵκαν*, in which they were before the said *Ordination*. Where by the way instead of (u) *Colluthus* the last edition of this Author in *Greeke* and *Latine*, doth read *Catholicus*: which must be mended as before, in the relation of this story; where we have \* *Colluthus*, and not *Catholicus*. But to proceed. It hapned afterwards that *Ischyra* one of the *Pseudo-Presbyters* ordained by *Colluthus*, accused (x) *Macarius* (one of the *Presbyters* of *Athanasius*) for a pretended violence to be offered to him, then ministering at the holy Table (y) So that the businesse being brought at last unto the judgement of a Councell, and the point in issue being this, whether this *Ischyra* were a *Presbyter*, or not; and so by consequence a dispenser of those sacred mysteries: he was returned no *Presbyter*, by the full consent of all the *Prelates* then assembled. The reason was, because he was ordained by *Colluthus*, *ὡς πρεσβύτερος ἐν ἱεροσολύμοις*.

(u) *Lutet. 1617.*\* *F. 732. 793.*(x) *Id. ibid. p. 757.*(y) *Id. ibid. p. 732.*

who died a *Presbyter*; and that his *ordina-*  
*tions* had beene all made void, and those  
 that had received them at his hands,  
 λαμβάνοντες, ὡς ἔτι οὐκ ἔχοντες, became lay a-  
 gaine, and in that state received the blef-  
 sed sacrament as the lay-men did. And this  
 faith *Athanasius* was a thing so publike,  
 ὡς ἔστιν ἐκδοκίμη ἀμειβόμενον, that no man ever  
 doubted of the truth thereof.

## V.

(x) *Greg. Presb.*  
*in vita Nazian.*

The second case was that of *Maximus*,  
 (x) once a familiar friend of *Gregory Naz-*  
*anzens*, at such time as he was Bishop of  
*Constantinople*; and by him, having taken  
 a good liking to him, admitted into the  
*Clergie* of that Church. But *Maximus* be-  
 ing an ungratefull wretch, complots with  
 others like himselfe, to be made *Bishop* of  
 that City: and thereupon negotiates with  
*Peter*, then *Patriarch* of *Alexandria*, to or-  
 daine him *Bishop* of the same; which be-  
 ing done accordingly, (for *Maximus* was  
 by birth of *Egypt*, and possibly might have  
 good friends there, besides his money) and  
 the whole City in a great distemper about  
 the businesse: the whole cause came at  
 last to be debated in the first generall  
 Councell of *Constantinople*, (a) where on full  
 hearing of the matter it was thus decreed,  
 viz. that *Maximus* neither was to be taken  
 for a *Bishop*, μήτε τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθείς, nor  
 any of those he had ordained to be accoun-  
 ted

(a) *Conc. Const.*  
 1. cap. 4.



ted of the *Clergy*, or remaine in any order or degree thereof. Where note, that howsoever *Maximus* came unlawfully unto the *Bishopricke* of *Constantinople*, by meanes whereof all the Acts done by him as a *Bishop*, were made void and frustrate: yet if as *Presbyter*, to which degree he had beene lawfully ordained by *Nazianzen*, he might have given the *imposition of hands*, the *Presbyters* by him ordained, would have held good still. But the third case comes next to the businesse, yet as it is thus reported in the Councell (b) of *Sevill* before remembred. A *Bishop* of the Church of *Spaine*, being troubled with sore eyes, and having some presented to him to be ordained *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, did onely lay his hands upon them, suffering a *Presbyter* that stood by, to read the words of *ordination*. This comming to be scanned in the aforesaid Councell, upon mature deliberation it is thus determined. First, for the *Presbyter*, which assisted, that for his boldnesse and presumption, he had beene subject to the Councels censure, but that hee was before deceased: next for the *Presbyter* & *Deacons*, who were so ordained, that they should actually be deposed from all sacred orders. Concluding thus, *Tales enim merito judicati sunt removendi, quia prave inventi sunt constituti*, that they were worthily adjudged

(b) *Concil. Hisp.*  
11. c. 5.

judged to lose those orders, which they had wrongfully received. So little influence had the *Presbyters* in the essential parts of *Ordination*, as that their bare reading of the words (though required to it by the Bishop) was adjudged enough, not onely to make them liable to the Churches censure, but also for their sakes to make void the Action. Nay so severe and and punctuall was the Church herein, that whereas certaine *Bishops* of those times, whether consulting their owne ease, or willing to decline so great a burthen, had suffered their *Chorepiscopi*: aswell those which were simply *Presbyters*, as such as had *Episcopall ordination* (for two there were) to performe this office: it was forbidden (c) absolutely in the one, limited and restrained in the other sort, as by the *Canons* of the two ancient Synods of *Gangra*, and *Antioch*, doth at full appeare.

(c) *Council Gangrenf. Can. 13.*

(d) *Council Antioch. l. Can. 10*

# VI.

It is true indeed, that anciently, as long, for ought I know, as there is any monument, or record of true antiquity, the *Presbyters* have joyned their hands to, and with the *Bishops*, in the performance, and discharge of this great solemnity. And hereof there are many evidences that affirme the same, as well in matter of *fact*, as in point of *Law*. Saint *Cyprian*, one of the ancientest of the Fathers, which now are extant, affirms,

firmer, (e) that in the ordination of *Aurelius* unto the office of a Reader in the Church of *Carthage*, he used the hands of his Colleagues. *Hunc igitur à me, & a Collegis, qui presentes aderant, ordinatum sciatis*, as he reports the matter in a letter to his charge at *Carthage*. Where by Colleagues it is most likely that he meanes his *Presbyters*; first, because that Epistle was written during the time of his retreat, and privacie; what time it is not probable, that any of his *Suffragan Bishops* did resort unto him: and secondly, because those words, *qui presentes aderant*, are so conforme unto the practise of that Church in the times succeeding. For in the fourth Councell (f) of *Carthage* held in the yeare 401. it was decreed, that when a *Presbyter* was ordained, the *Bishop* blessing him, and holding his hand upon his head, *etiam omnes Presbyteri qui presentes sunt manus suas juxta manum Episcopi super caput illius teneant*; all the *Presbyters* which are present shall likewise lay their hands upon his head, neere the hands of the *Bishop*. And in the same Councell it was further ordered, (g) that the *Bishop* should not ordaine a Clergie-man, *sine consilio clericorum suorum*, without the counsell of his Clergie: which also doth appeare to be *Cyprians* practise, in the first words of the Epistle before remembred.

(e) *Cyprian. Ep. 2.*  
33. or *L. 2. ep. 5.*

(f) *Concil. Car.*  
4. Can. 3.

(g) *Id. Can. 12.*

But then it is as true withall, that this conjunction of the *Presbyters* in the solemnities of this Act, was rather *ad honorem Sacerdotii, quam essentiam operis*, more for the honour of the Priesthood, than for the essence of the worke. Nor did the laying on of the *Presbyters* hands conferre upon the party that was ordained any power or order: but onely testified their consent unto the businesse, and approbation of the man, according to the purpose and intent of the last of the two Canons before alleaged. And for the first Canon, if you marke it well, it doth not say, that if there be no *Presbyters* in place, the *Bishop* should deferre the *ordination* till they came: but *Presbyteri qui praesentes sunt*, if any *Presbyters* were present at the doing of it, they should lay their hands upon his head, neere the *Bishops* hands. So that however anciently, in the purest times, the *Presbyters* which were then present, both might and did impose hands with the *Bishop*, upon the man to be ordained, and so concurred in the performance of the outward ceremony: yet the whole power of *ordination* was vested in the person of the *Bishop* onely, as to the essence of the worke. And this appears yet further, by some passages in the *Civill* lawes, prescribed for the ordering of Ecclesiasticall Ministers, by which, upon neglect

neglect or contempt thereof, the *Presbyters* were not obnoxious unto punishment that joynd with the *Bishop*, because they had no power to hinder what he meant to do. But the *Bishop* onely, *qui ordinas*, or *qui ordinationem imponis*, he in whom rested the authority, by laying on, or by withholding of his hands, either to frustrate or make good the action: he was accountable unto the lawes, if hee should transgresse them: for which consult (g) *Novell. Constitut.* 123. *Ca.* 16. and *Novell. Constitut.* 6. And so it also stood in the Churches practise; as appeareth plainly by the degradations of *Kasilius*, (h) *Elesius*, and *Elpidius*, three ancient Bishops, because that (amongst other things) they had advanced some men unto holy orders, contrary to the lawes, and ordinances of the Church: of which *Elpidius* was deposed on no other reason, but on that alone. Now had the *Presbyters* beene agents in ordaining as well as the *Bishop*, and the imposing of their hands so necessary, that the businesse could not be performed without them: there had beene neither equity, nor reason in it, to let them scape *Scur-free*, and punish the poore *Bishops* onely, for that in which the *Presbyters* were as much in fault.

Against all this, I meete with no objection in *Antiquity*, but what hath casually

(g) Cited by  
B. Bilsen. c. 13.

(h) *Sozimen.*  
*bist. Eccl.* l. 4.  
c. 23. &c.

VII.

(i) *August. Con.*  
*in fine.*

beene incountred in the former passages. This present age doth yeeld one, and a great one too, which is the case of the *Reformed Churches* beyond the Seas: who finding an averfenesse of the *Bishops* at the first, to give them *orders*, unlesse they would desert the worke of *Reformation*, which they had in hand, were faine to have recourse to *Presbyters*, for their *Ordinations*, in which estate they still continue. That thus it was (i), appeareth by the *Augustane Confession*, the Authours and Abettors of the which complaine, that the Bishop would admit none unto *sacred Orders*, *Nisi*  
*"jurent se puram Evangelii Doctrinam nolle*  
*"docere*, except they would be sworne not  
*"to Preach the Gospell according to the*  
*"grounds and Principles of their Reforma-*  
*"tion.* For their parts they professed, *Nam*  
*"id agi ut dominatio excipiat Episcopu*, that  
*"they had no intention to deprive the Bi-*  
*"shops of their Authority in the Church,*  
*"but onely that they might have liberty to*  
*"Preach the Gospell, and be eased of some*  
*"few rites and ceremonies, which could*  
*"not be observed without grievous sinne.*  
*"This if it could not be obtained, and that*  
*"a schisme did follow thereupon, it did*  
*"concerne the Bishops to looke unto it,*  
*"how they would make up their account*  
*"to Almighty God. So that the Bishops*  
 thus



thus refusing to admit them into holy Orders, which was the publique ordinary doore of entrance into the Ministry of the Church; necessity compelled them at the last, to enter in by private wayes, and impose hands on one another. In which particular the case of the *Reformed Churches* may not unfitly be resembled unto that of *Scipio*, (k) as it is thus related in the story. Upon some want of money for the furtherance of the necessary affaires of State, he demanded a supply from the common treasury. But when the *Questor*, pretending that it was against the Lawes, refused to open it; himselfe a private person, seised upon the keyes: *Et patefacto araria, legem necessitati cedere coegit*, and made the Law give way to the necessities of the Common wealth. So in like manner, the better to reforme *Religion*, many good men made suite to be supplied out of the common treasuries of the Church; to be admitted to the *Ministry*, according to the common course of *Ordination*. Which when it was denyed them by the *Bishops*, the Churches *Questors* in this case, they rather chose to seise upon the keyes, and receive *Ordination* from the hands of private persons, then that the Church should bee unfurnished. This I conceive to be the *Case*, at the first beginning. But whether

(k) *Valer.*  
*Maxim. l. 3. c. 7.*

with the change of their condition, the case be altered, or whether they continue in the state they were; I am not able to say any thing. It is a good old saying, and to that I keepe me; *Εἰς ὃν ἀποδύμηναι*, that where I am a stranger, I must be no meddler.

## VIII.

Hitherto of the power of Ordination, committed by Saint Paul to his two Bishops of Ephesus and Crete, and in them to all other Bishops whatsoever. Wee must next looke upon the power of jurisdiction, and that consists in these particulars: First, in the ordering of Gods service, and the Administration of his Sacraments. Secondly, in the Preaching of his Word, censuring those that broach strange Doctrines, and on the other side encouraging and rewarding such as are laborious in their calling; and Lastly, in correction of the manners of such as walke unworthy of the Gospel of Christ, whether of the Clergie, or the Laity. To these three heads, we may reduce the severall points and branches of Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction; so farre forth as the same hath beene committed by the word of God, and by the practise of the Church, unto the managing and care of Bishops. First for the ordering of Gods service, and all things thereunto pertaining, Saint Paul gave Timothy this direction, (1) that first of all,

(1) 1 Tim. 2. 1.

all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men: for Kings, and all that be in authority, that men may leade a quiet and a peaceable life, in all godlinesse and honesty. This, as it was a common duty, and appertayning unto every man in his severall place: so the Apostle leaves it unto Timothy, to see that men performed this duty, and were not suffered to neglect it. For that the prayers here intended, were not the private Prayers of particular persons, but the publique of the Congregation, is agreed on all sides. Calvin conceives it so for the Protestant writers, (m) *Paulus simpliciter jubet quoties orationes publicæ habentur*, that Paul doth here appoint what he would have to bee comprized in our publique Prayers. *Estimo*, for the Pontificians, doth resolve so also, that the place must be understood (n) *de publicis Ecclesia precibus*, of the publique Prayers, of and in the Congregation. And that the Westerne Churches may not stand alone (o) *Theophylact*, and *Oecumenius* doe expound the words, *ὡς τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν λειτουργεῖν*, of the daily service used in the Church of God, who also call it *πρῶτον πᾶσι*, the first Christian duty. Now aske (p) of *Chrysostome*, to whom it doth belong to see this duty carefully discharged as it ought to be; and he will tell you tis the Priest, or *ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ κληρικός*, as he which

(m) Calvin in  
1 ad Tim. c. 2.

(n) Estimo in  
1 ad Tim. c. 2.

(o) Theophylact  
Oecumenius in locum.

(p) Chrysostom in  
1 ad Tim. c. 2.

(q) *Oecum. ibid.*

which is the common Father of the Universe, and therefore to take care of all, as doth the Lord, whose Priest or *isus* he is. And aske of (q) *Oecumenius*, then whom none better understood that Fathers writings, whom he doth there meane by the Priest, or *isus*, and he will tell you that it is the Bishop. *Τὸν γὰρ ἐκείνου τοῦ κειμένου μαρτυρεῖ ὁ λόγος.*  
 “It doth, saith he, belong unto the Bishop,  
 “as the common Father, to make Prayers,  
 “for all men, faithfull and infidels, friends  
 “and enemies, persecuters and slanderers.  
*Lyra* speakes home and fully to this purpose also. For this he makes to be *secundus actus ad Episcopum pertinens*, the second Act belonging to the Bishops Office, that prayers be offered unto God.

## IX.

(r) *Mat. 28. 19*(s) *Luk. 22. 19*

The *ministration* of the Sacraments, being a principall part of Gods *publique* service, and comprehending *Prayers and supplications*, and *giving of thanks*, must bee looked on next. And this we finde to be committed principally to the Bishops care, and by their hands to such inferiour *Ministers* in the Church of God, as they thought fit to trust with so great a charge. To (r) *teach* and to *Baptize*, was given in the charge to the *Apostles*; and unto none but they did Christ say, (s) *hoc facite*, that they should take the bread and breake and blesse it, and so deliver it to the Communicants. So  
 also

also in the blessing and distributing of the other element. This power they left in generall to their *Successors*, to the *Bishops* chiefly, and such as were found worthy of so high a trust, by their permission. (r) *Ignatius* who lived neereſt to our Saviours time, and had beene converſant with the *Apoſtles*, doth expreſſely ſay it. Οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν Χριστῷ ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἢ ἁγία, ἢ ἐπίσκοπος, &c. It is not lawfull without the *Bishop*, either to Baptize, or make Oblations, or celebrate the *Eucharist*, or finally to keepe the Love-feasts, or *Agapes*, which were then in use (for those I take it were the *αἶμα* which the Father speaks of.) *Tertullian* for the second Century doth affirme as much. (u) The right, saith he, of giving Baptisme, belongs to the Chiefe Priest, that is, the *Bishop*; next to the *Presbyters* or *Deacons*, *non tamen sine autoritate Episcopi*, yet not without the *Bishops* Licence or authority. In the third Century, the Councell held in *Laodicea* (x) is as plaine and full, save that indeed it is more generall, in which the *Presbyter* is tyed from doing any thing (i.e. such things as appertaine to his *ministrati-* on) ἀνευ τοῦ ἐπίσκοπου, without the knowledge of his *Bishop*. Saint *Hierome* (y) finally, no great advancer of the *Episcopall* authority and jurisdiction, having considered of it better, doth conclude at last, that

(r) *Epi. ad Smyrnen.*

(u) *Tertul. de Baptismo. c. 17.*

(x) *Cancil. Laodice. Can. 57. 95.*

(y) *Hieron. adv. Luciferian.*

if the *Bishop* had not a preheminence in the Church of God, there would be presently almost as many Schismes as *Priests*. And hence it is, saith he, *Ut sine Episcopi missione neque Presbyter, neque Diaconus ius habeat baptizandi*, that without lawfull mission from the *Bishop*, neither the *Presbyter* nor *Deacons* might *Baptize*. Not that I thinke there was required in *Hieromes* time, a speciall Licence from the *Bishop*, for every ministeriall Act, that men in either of those Orders were to execute, but that they had no interest therein, then what was specially given them by, and from the *Bishop*, in their *Ordination*.

X.

(r) 2 Tim. 4. 5

As for the Act of *Preaching*, which was at first discharged by the *Apostles*, *Prophets*, and *Evangelists*, according to the gifts that God had given them for the performance of the same: when as the Church beganne to settle, it was conferred by the *Apostles* on the severall *Presbyters* by themselves ordained: as doth appeare by Saint *Pauls* exhortation to the *Presbyters*, which hee called from *Ephesus* unto *Miletum*. To this as *Timothy* had beene used before, (z) doing the worke of an *Evangelist*: so he was still required to ply it, being called unto the Office of a *Bishop*: Saint *Paul* conjuring him before God and *Christ*, that notwithstanding the diversions, which might happen



pen to him by reason of his *Episcopall* place and iurisdiction, (a) he should *Preach the Word*, and not to Preach it onely in his own particular, (b) *showing himselfe a Workeman that needed not to bee ashamed, dividing the word of truth aright*: but seeing that others also did the like, according to the trust reposed in them; whether they had beene formerly ordained by the *Apostles*, or might be by himselfe ordained in times succeeding. Those that discharge this duty both with care and conscience, (c) *guiding, and governing that portion of the Church aright, wherewith they are intrusted, and diligently labouring in the word and Doctrin*: by the *Apostle* are accounted *worthy of double honour*. Which questionlesse Saint Paul had never represented unto *Timothy*, but that it did belong unto him, as a part of his *Episcopall* power and Office, to see that men so painefull in their calling, and so discrete in point of government, should be rewarded and incouraged accordingly. By honour in this place, the *Apostle* doth not onely meane *respect and reverence*, but *support and maintenance*: as appeares plainly by that which is alledged from holy Scripture, viz. *Thou shalt not muzzle the Oxe that treadeth out the Corne: and, The labourer is worthy of his hire.* Chrysostome (d) so expounds the word, *μηδὲ τὸ λαὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποκρίαις ἀποκρίαις*

(a) 2 Tim. 4. 2.

(b) 2 Tim. 2. 15

(c) 1 Tim. 5. 17

(d) Chrysost.  
hom. 15. in 1  
Tim. 5.

(e) Ambros. in  
locum.

(f) Calvin in  
1 ad. Tim. c. 3.

(g) Act. 4. v. ult.

(h) Zonaras in  
Concil. Chalce-  
don. Ca. 26.

in *ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴν ἰσχυρὰ*; by *honour* here is meant both *reverence* and a *supply* of all things necessary: with whom agree the (e) Commentaries which passe under the name of *Ambrose*. *Calvin* (f) affirms the like for our moderne Writers. *Victum præcipue suppeditari jubet Pastoribus qui docendo sunt occupati*; *Paul* here commandeth that necessary maintenance be allowed the *Pastor*, who laboureth in the *Word and Doctrine*: And hereto *Beza* agreeth also in his *Annotations* on the place. Now we know well that in those times wherein *Paul* wrote to *Timothy*, and a long time after, the dispensation of the Churches Treasury was for the most part in the *Bishop*, and at his appointment. For, as in the beginnings of the *Gospel*, the Faithfull sold their *Lands*, and goods, (g) and laid the money at the *Apostles feet*, by them to be distributed, as the necessities of the Church required: So in succeeding times, all the *Oblations* of the faithfull were returned in unto the *Bishop* of the place, and by him disposed of. We need not stand on many Authours in so cleare a businelle. *Zonaras* telling plainly, that at the first, the *Bishop* had the absolute and sole disposing of the revenues of the Church; (h) *ὡς καὶ ἐκείνην ὥραν*, no man whoever, being privy to their doings in it. And that they did accordingly dispose there-

thereof, to every man according to his parts and industry, doth appeare by *Cyprian*, where he informeth us, that hee having advanced *Gelerinus*, a Confessor of great renoune amongst that people, and no lesse eminent indeed for his parts and piety, unto the Office of a Reader, (i) he had allotted unto him, and to *Aurelius* (one of equall vertue) then a Reader also, *Ut sponulis isdem cum Presbyteris honorentur*, that they should have an equall share in the distribution, with the Priests or Presbyters.

(i) *Cyp. Ep. 34*  
vel l. 4. ep 5.

## X I.

But many times so fell out, that those to whom the Ministry of the word was trusted, preached (k) other doctrine to the people then that which had beene taught by the Apostles, (l) Vaine talkers, and deceivers, which subverted whole houses, teaching things they should not, and that for filthy lucre sake. What must the Bishop doe to them? Hee must first charge them (m) not to Preach such doctrines, which rather minister questions then godly edifying: And if they will not hearken to, nor obey this charge, *inquit* *Sanctus*, he must (n) stop their mouthes, let them be silenced in plaine English. The silencing of such Ministers as deceive the people, and preach such things they should not, even for lucre sake, to the subverting of whole families, is no new matter, as we see, in the Church of God. Saint Paul here gives

(k) 1 Tim. 1.3

(l) Tit. 1. 10.  
11.

(m) 1 Tim. 1.4

(n) Tit 1.9

(o) Chrysost.  
Tom. 2. n. Tit. 1.

(p) Hieron. in  
Can. Tit.

(q) Theophyl.  
in 1 ad Tim. c. 1

(r) Occumen. in  
locum.

(s) Lyra in 1  
Tim. c. 1.

it as in charge to *Titus*; and to all Bishops in his person. Certaine I am that *Chrysostom*: (o) doth so expound it. If thou prevailest not, saith he, by admonitions, be not afraid, ἀλλ' ἐπιτιμᾶς, *silentium iis impone*, the Translatour reads it, but *silence* them, that others may the better be preserved by it. (p) *Hierome* doth so translate it also, *quibus oportet silentium indici*, such men must be commanded silence. And for the charge of *Paul* to *Timothy*, that he should charge those false Apostles which hee speakes of, not to *Preach strange doctrines*: it carryes with it an authority that must be exercised. *For this cause I required thee to abide at Ephesus*, ἐχ' ἵνα παραμείνῃς, ἀλλ' ἵνα παραγγέλῃς, not that thou shouldst intreate, but command such men, to *Preach no other doctrines* then they had from me. (q) *Theophylact* on those words, puts the question thus, in the words of *Chrysostome*, Ζητῶμεν δὲ, it may bee asked, saith he, whether that *Timothy* were then Bishop when *Paul* wrote this to him. To which he answereth of himselfe, ἵνα τὸν, that it is most probable: giving this reason of the same, because hee is to charge those men not to teach *other doctrines*. (r) *Occumenius* is more positive in the point, and affirmes expressely on these words, that *Paul* had made him Bishop there, before that time. And *Lyra*, (s) if he may bee heard

heard, makes this generall use of the Apostles exhortation, that the first Act here recommended to a Bishop, is *falsa doctrina extirpatio*, the extirpation of false doctrine.

This part of jurisdiction, with those that follow, I shall declare onely, but not exemplific. For being matters meerely practicall, and the proceedings on *Record*, they will occur hereafter, as occasion is, in this following History. And that which followeth first, is very neere of kinne indeed unto that before. For many times it happeneth so, that howsoever men bee charged not to *teach strange doctrines*, and that their *mouthes be stopped*, and they put to silence: yet they will persevere however in their wicked courses, and obstinately continue in the same, untill at last their obstinacy ends in heresie. What course is to be taken upon such occasions? The Apostle hath resolved that also. (a) *A man that is an Hereticke*, saith he, *after the first and second admonition, is to be rejected*. Rejected? but by whom? why, by *Titus* surely. The words are spoken unto him in the second person, and such as did possesse the same place and office. (u) *Hanc sive admonitionem, sive correptionem, intellige ab Episcopo faciendam, &c.* "This *admonition*, which Saint Paul here speakes of, whether that

XII.

(r) Tit. 3. 10.

(u) *Estim in Ep. ad Tit. c. 3.*

"it

"it be meant of gentle admonition, or se-  
 "vere reproofe, must bee done onely by  
 "the Bishop, and that not as a private per-  
 "son, but as the governour of the Church,  
 "and that both with authority and power,  
 "by which he also may denounce him ex-  
 "communicate, if hee amend not on the  
 same. So *Eftius*, in his Comment on the  
 place: and herewith *Calvin* doth accord,  
 (x) *Tito scribens Paulus, non differit de Officio*  
*magistratus, sed quid Episcopo conveniat.* *Paul*,  
 saith he, writing unto *Titus*, disputes not  
 of the Office of the civill Magistrate, but  
 of the duty of a Bishop. And this in answer  
 unto some, who had collected from these  
 words of the Apostle, that Heretickes were  
 to be encountred with no sharper weapon,  
 then that of *Excommunication*, *neq; esse ultra*  
*in eos saviendum*, and that there was no o-  
 ther course to bee taken with them. In  
 which these Modernes say no more, as to  
 the exercise and discharge of the *Episcopall*  
 function in this case, then what the Anci-  
 ents said before. I marvaile, saith Saint  
*Hierome*, (y) speaking of *Vigilantius*, a  
 "broacher of strange (or other) *Doctrines*  
 "in the Church of Christ, that the Bishop  
 "in whose Diocese he is said to be a Pres-  
 "byter, hath so long given way to his im-  
 "piety: *Et non virga Apostolica, virgaque*  
*ferrea confringere vas inutile*; and that hee  
 hath

(x) *Calvin* in  
*Titum. c. 3.*

(y) *Hieron. ad*  
*Riparium,*  
*adv. Vigilant. a.*



“hath not rather broke in pieces with the *A-*  
*postolike* rod, a rod of iron, this so unprofita-  
 “ble a vessell. In which as the good father  
 manifests his owne zeale and fervour; so hee  
 declareth therewithall, what was the *Bi-*  
*shops* power and office in the present busi-  
 nesse.

## XIII.

The last part of *Episcopall* jurisdiction,  
 which we have to speake of, is the correction  
 of ill manners, whether in the *Presbyters*, or  
 in the people: concerning which the *Apostle*  
 gives both power to *Timothie*, and command  
 to use it. First, for the *Presbyters*, *Against an*

(a) 1 Tim 5.19,  
 20.

(a) *Elder* receive not an accusation but before two  
 or three witnesses: but if they be convicted, *them*  
*that sinne* rebuke before all, *that others also* may  
*fear*. In the declaring of which power,  
 I take for granted, that the *Apostle*  
 heer by *Elder*, doth meane a *Presbyter*,  
 according to the *Ecclesiasticall* notion of  
 that word: though I know that (b) *Chry-*  
*ostome*, and after him *Theophylact* and  
*Occumemus*, doe take it only for a man well  
 growne in yeers. And then the meaning of  
 Saint *Paul* will be briefly this, that partly in  
 regard of the devills malice, apt to calum-  
 niate men of that *holy* function; and partly to a-  
 voide the scandall which may thence arise,  
*Timothy*, and in him all other *Bishops* should  
 be very cautious in their proceedings against  
 men of that profession. But if they finde  
 them

(b) *Hom.* 13. in  
 1 Tim. in locum.

(c) Amb. in 1.  
ad Tim. c. 5.

(d) Hier. in Ep.  
1. ad Tim.

(e) Epipha. her.  
75. n. 5.

(f) Theoph. in 1.  
ad Tim. c. 5.

them guiltie, on examination, then not to  
sinother or conceale the matter, but censure  
and rebuke them openly, that others may take  
heed of the like offences. The Commentaries  
under the name of (c) *Ambrose*, doe ex-  
pound it so, *Quoniam non facile credi debet de*  
*Presbytero crimen, &c.* Because a crime or  
accusation is not rashly to be credited against  
a *Presbyter*: yet if the same prove manifest  
and undeniable; Saint *Paul* commandeth that  
in regard of his irregular conversation, hee be  
rebuked and censured publicly, that others  
may be thereby terrified; And this, saith he,  
*non solum ordinatis sed & plebi proficit*, will not  
be onely profitable unto men in *Orders*, but to  
lay people also. Herewith agreeth, as to  
the making of these *Elders* to be men in *Orders*,  
the Comment upon this Epistle, ascribed to  
*Hierome*: (d) *Presbyters* then are subject  
unto censure; but to whose censure are they  
subject? Not unto one anothers surely, that  
would breed confusion; but to the censure of  
their *Bishop*, λέγει Τιμόθεον ἐπισκόπου ὄντι. saith  
(e) *Epiphanius*; hee speakes to *Time-*  
*thie*, being a *Bishop*, not to receive an accusation  
against a *Presbyter*. (f) *Theophylact* also saith the  
same. For having told us, that if a *Presby-*  
*ter*, upon examination of the businesse bee  
found delinquent, hee must bee sharply and  
severely censured, that others may bee terrify-  
ed thereby, he ads, διὰ τοῦτο ποιεῖται τὸν ἐπισκόπον  
that

that it becomes a *Bishop* (in such cases) to bee sterne and awfull. (g) *Lyra* observes the like in his *Glosse* or *Postills*, *Viz.* that the proceedings against inferiour Clergie-men, in foro exteriori, in a judiciarie way, is a peculiar of the *Bishops*. But what need more bee said than that of *Beza* (h) who noteth on these very words, that *Timothie*, to whom this power or charge was given, was *President* or *episcopus*, at that time of the *Ephesian* Clergie. Which is a plaine acknowledgement, in my opinion, that the correction of the *Clergie*, by the law of God, doth appertaine unto the *Bishop*, the *episcopus* or *President* of the *Presbyterie*, call him what you will. For what need we contend for words, when wee have the matter? And this appeareth by the severall Councells of *Nice* and *Antioch*, *Sardica*, *Turin*, *Africa* and *Sevill*: in all and every of the which the Censure and proceedings against a *Presbyter*, are left to their owne *Bishops* severally: but a course taken therewithall for their ease and remedie, in case their owne *Bishops* should proceed against them, out of heat or passion.

For the *Lay-people* next, that *Paul* gave *Timothy* a power of *correcting* them, appeares by the instructions which hee gives him for the discharge of this authoritie, towards all sorts of people: whether that they be *old* or *young*, of what sex soever. *old men*, if they offend,

(g) *Lyra in eund. locum.*

(h) *Beza Annot. in 1. ad Tim. 5.*

XIV.

(i) 1. Tim. 5.

(k) Hom. 13. in  
ad Tim.(l) Occumen. in  
1. ad Tim. c. 5.  
(m) Beza de tri-  
plici Episcop.(n) Isidor. Ety-  
mol. l. 7. c. 12.

must be handled gently, respect being had un-  
to their yeers. (i) *Rebuke not an Elder, but en-  
treat him as a Father: i. e.* saith Chrysostome,  
(k) take him not up with *barshnesse* and *severitie*,  
but doe it with such temperance and meeknes,  
as thou wouldest doe unto thy *Father*, if hee  
gave offence. His reason is, because it is an  
irksome thing unto good persons to be repre-  
hended, *μαλιστα καὶ πατὴρ εἶναι*, especially by one  
younger than themselves, as then *Timothy* was.  
The like regard was to be had to *old Women* al-  
so, for the selfe same reason. As for the *young-  
er men*, they were to be rebuked as *brethren*,  
with greater freedome than before, but still  
with lenitie. *ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς* *ἐκκλησίᾳ* *δοῦναι τὸ πᾶν ὡς ὁ  
κύριος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς*, the sawce of reprehension must be  
sweet, though the meat be sowre. Nor was  
this power committed only unto *Timothy*, but  
in him to all other *Bishops*, of all times and pla-  
ces, *Ὁς ὁ Timothy δὲ μόνος, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπισκοποῦντες*, so saith  
(l) *Occumenius*. The function of a Bishop was  
not instituted in the Church of God, *quasi Cle-  
ro impositus inspector*, (m) as *Beza* hath it; that  
he might oversee the *Clergie* onely: but for  
the well ordering and governance of all Gods  
people. *Episcopi Græcè, speculatores latine di-  
cuntur, populi respectu*, He that is called a *Bishop*  
in the *Greek*, saith *Isidore*, (n) is called an *over-  
seer* in the *Latine*, and that in reference to the  
people. And then he gives this reason of it, *quod  
speculetur & prospiciat popularum infra se posito-*  
*rum*

*rum mores & vitam*, because hee overseeth the lives and conversation of the people, which are under him. The like saith *Austin*, (o) as to the reason of the name, and the intent of their preheminencie: the like *Paterius* (p) on the Psalmes; and thither I referre the Reader. As for the execution of this power, how, and by whom the same was exercised, being a matter meerely *practicall*, we shall encounter it hereafter, as occasion is, in the successe and prosecution of this storie. Onely take this of *Austin* for a taste or relish, where saying, that there is no greater punishment in the Church, than that condemnation, (q) *quam Episcopale iudicium facit*, which is pronounced by the Bishop: hee addes, that notwithstanding this, *necessitas pastoralis habet separare ab ovibus sanis morbidam*, the Pastor must needs separate the scabbie and infected sheepe from the sound and healthie, lest the whole flock be made obnoxious to so great a danger. What interest or concurrent jurisdiction, the *Presbyters* did either challenge or enjoy in these publike censures, wee shall see hereafter. But sure, for ought appears to me, S. *Paul* addresseth his discourse to the Bishop onely: who if, in the succeeding Ages, hee used the Counsell and assistance of his *Presbyters*, in the affaires and weightier matters of the Church; hee did but as a warie and wise man would on the like occasions.

I would here offer, if I might, some conjecturall

(o) *Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 19. s. 19.*

(p) *Pater. in. Psalm. 116.*

(q) *Aug. de Cor. rep. & grai. c. 16.*

All proofes, that the description of a *Bishop* in the first to *Timothie*, is of a *Bishop* truly and properly so called, according as the word was used and appropriated by the Ancient Writers. I know the generall current of *Interpreters* is against me in it, by whom the word *Episcopus*, is said to signifie in that place, as well the *Presbyter* as the *Bishop*. Which I conceive they doe upon this reason chiefly, because Saint *Paul* having prescribed the qualities, which are required in a *Bishop*; passeth directly on to the description of a *Deacon*. But if wee look upon it well, I doubt not but we shall perceive some reasons, which may incline unto the contrarie. For first, Saint *Paul* speakes of a *Bishop* (r) in the singular number, but of inferior *Ministers* in the plurall. One Church, or Citie, though it had many *Presbyters*, had one *Bishop* onely: And therefore wee may reasonably conceive, that the *Apostle* speaking of a *Bishop*, in the singular number, speakes of him in his proper and true capacitie, as one distinguished from, and above the *Presbyters*. Secondly, the *Apostle* seemeth to require in him an Act of Government, as being a man, that is, (s) to take a care of the Church of God: and thereupon gives order for an inquisition to be had upon him, whether he hath ruled his owne house well. (t) *Chrysostome* hereupon observes, that the Church is likened to an house or familie, wherein there is a Wife and Children,

(r) 1 Tim. 3. 2.

(s) 1 Tim. 3. 5.



dren, Men-servants and Maid-servants, *ἡ δὲ ἐκκλησία ὁ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ*, all which are subject to the government of the husband, who is the *Father* of the *Familie*. So is it in the Church, saith hee, the *apostles* or Governour whereof is to take care for widows, virgins, all Gods sonnes and servants. A care of too transcendent and sublime a nature, to be entrusted unto every common *Presbyter*, or discharged by him; who as our (t) *Hooker* well observeth, though he be somewhat better able to speake, is as litle to judge, as another man: And if not fit to judge, no fit man to governe. Thirdly, (u) *Saint Paul* requireth in a *Bishop*, that (u) he be given to *Hospitalitie*: i. e. that hee receive the stranger, entertaine the native, and in a word, admitt all commers. *Hierome* (x) doth so expound it, saying, that if a Lay-man entertaine but two or three, *hospitalitatis officium implebit*, hee hath exceeding well complied with all the rules of hospitalitie: *Episcopus nisi omnes receperit, inhumanus est*; but that the *Bishop* is accounted a *Chule* or *Niggard*, if his house be not open unto all. Which howsoever it might possibly agree in those ancient times, to the condition of a *Bishop*, who had the keeping and disposing of the Churches *causures*: yet I can see no possibilitie how it could be expected from the *Presbyter*, that out of his poore pittance from the *Sportula*, hee should be able to performe it. For I beleeve

not

(t) In the Preface.

(u) 1 Tim. 3. 2.

(x) Hier. in Tit. c. 1.

(1) 1.Tim.3.6.

(2) Chrysost. &  
Theophyl.in loc.

not that the Lord intended to worke miracles daily, as in the lengthning and increasing the poore womans oyle. Fourthly and lastly, it is required by Saint *Paul*, that his *Bishop* must not be *νέβουλός*, a (γ) a *Novice* as our *English* reads it, and exceeding rightly: that is, as (z) *Chrysostome*, and out of him (z) *Theophylact* expound the word, *νὸν νοταίνοντα*, one newly chatechised as it were, lately instructed in the faith. Now who knoweth not, but that in the beginnings of the Church, some of these new-plants, these *νέβουλοι*, must of necessitie be taken into *holy orders*, for the increase and propagation of the *Gospel*. The *Presbyters* were many, but the *Bishops* few. And therefore howsoever there might be found sufficient *standards*, upon the which to graft a *Bishop*: yet I can hardly finde a possibilitie, of furnishing the garden of the Church with a fit number of *Presbyters*, unlesse we take them from the *nurserie*. Hence I collect, that this description of a *Bishop* in *S. Paul* to *Timothie*, is of a *Bishop* truly and properly so called; and that it doth nor also include the *Presbyter*. If then it be demanded, whether *S. Paul* hath utterly omitted to speake of *Presbyters*, I answer, no; but that we have them in the next Paragraph, *Διακονοι σιμιλίτερ*: which word howsoever in our last translation, it bee rendred *Deacons*: Yet in our old translation, and in that of *Coverdale*, we read it *Ministers*, according to the generall and

and native meaning of the word. An Exposition neither new, nor forced. Not new, for (a) Calvin doth acknowledge, *alias ad Presbyteros referre Episcopos inferiores*, that some referred those words to *Presbyters*, subordinate or inferior to the *Bishop*. Not forced, for if wee search the Scripture, wee shall there perceive that generally *Diaconus* is rendred *Minister*: and that not only in the *Gospels*, before that *Deacons* had been instituted in the *Church* of God; but also in *S. Pauls Epistles*, after the planting of the *Church*, when all the *Officers* therein had their bounds and limits. Thus the *Apostle* speaking of himselfe, and of *Apollos*, (b) saith that they were *Διδασκαλοι* *δι' ὧν ἐκπαινεύοντο*, the *Ministers* by whom that people did beleeve; himselfe he calleth, *Διάκονον κυρίου* *διακὸν κυρίου*, a *Minister* of the new Testament, 2 Cor. 3. 6. *Διάκονον Θεοῦ*, a *Minister* of God, 2 Cor. 6. 4. *Διάκονον εὐαγγελίου*, a *Minister* of the Gospel, Eph. 3. 7. Coloss. 1. 23. Thus *Tychicus* is called *πιστὸς Διάκονος*, a faithfull *Minister*, Ephes. 6. 26. and againe, Coloss. 4. 7. and so is *Epaphras* entituled, Coloss. 1. 7. Thus *Timothie* is called *Διάκονος Θεοῦ*, 1 Thess. 3. 2. *καλὸς Διάκονος*, a good *Minister*, in this very Epistle; and finally is required in the next to this, not onely to *doe the worke* of an *Evangelist*, but τὴν *διακονίαν* *καταρθεῖν*, to fulfill his *Ministrie*. Hence I inferre, that since *Diaconus* is a word of so large extent, as to include *Apostles*,  
 Pro.

(a) Calvin 1. ad  
 Tim. c. 3. v. 8.

(b) 1 Cor. 3. 5.

(c) 1 Tim. 4. 5.

*Prophets, and Evangelists*, I see no inconvenience that can follow on it, if it include the office of the *Presbyter* or *Elder* also: and let the *Bishop* have the former Character to himselfe alone, to whom of right it doth belong. But this I onely offer to consideration, as my private thoughts: not being so farre wedded to mine owne opinions, but that on better reasons I may be divorced, when ever they are laid before me.

**CHAP.**

## C H A P. VI.

*Of the Estate of holy Church, particularly of the Asian Churches, toward the latter dayes of S. John the Apostle.*

(1) **T**He time of S. John's comming into Asia. (2) All the Seven Churches, except Ephesus, of his Plantation. (3) that the Angels of those Churches were the Bishops of them, in the opinion of the Fathers, (4) and of some Protestant Divines of name and eminence. (5) Conclusive reasons for the same, (6) who most like to be the Angel of the Church of Ephesus, (7) that Polycarpus was the Angel of the Church of Smyrna. (8) Touching the Angel of the Church of Pergamus, and of Thyatira, (9) As also of the Churches of Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea. (10) What Successours these severall Angels had in the severall Churches. (11) Of other Churches founded in Episcopacy, by S. John the Apostle. (12) S. John deceasing, left the government of the Church to Bishops, as to the Successours of the Apostles; (13) the ordinary Pastors of the Church; (14) and the Vicars of Christ. (15) A brieve view of the estate of holy Church in this first Century.

Wee now proceed unto S. John, and to the Churches of his time, those most especially

a

which

a Acts 8.14.

Acts 12.1. &amp;c.

Acts 19.2.3.

which he did either plant or water : who living till the end of this present *Century*, and being the last Survivor of that *Glorious company* of the Apostles, could not but see the Church of *Christ* in her fullest growth, in her protection, both for strength and beauty. Of this Apostle we find not any thing in Scripture, from his descent unto *Samaria*, <sup>a</sup> when he accompanied *S. Peter* thither, by the appoyntment of the residue of that *goodly fellowship*, untill the writing of the *Revelation*. The interveening passages of his life and preaching, we must make up out of such fragments of antiquity, and records of story, as are come safe unto our hands. Where first I must needs disallow the conceit of those, who carry him I know not how to *Ephesus*, making him an inhabitant there, and taking with him to that place, the Mother of our Lord and Saviour: which must needs be, if ever it had beene at all, about the 44. yeere after Christs nativity, that being the time wherein the Apostles and Disciples were dispersed abroad, upon the persecution raised by *Herod*. But that it was not then, nor a long time after, will appeare by this, that when *Paul* came to preach & reside at *Ephesus*, which was in Anno. 55. above ten yeers after, there was so little knowledge of the faith of *Christ*, that they had not so much as heard there <sup>c</sup> *was any Holy ghost*; being baptized only, as themselves confessed, unto *John's baptism*. A thing which could not possibly





f Acts 2. 9.  
g Possidius in  
Iudic. operum  
August.

August. qu:  
Evang. l. 2,  
chap. 39.  
h Ecc. histor. l.  
3. Cap. 1.

i Ignat. Epist.  
ad Ephes. p.  
226. Edit. Ve-  
delan.

which nation had beene present at *Hierusalem* at the first giving of the *Holy ghost* ) & his first Epistle being inscribed, *ad Parthos*, as some antients say.

But that he came at last to *Asia*, and there preached the Gospel, is a thing past question. *Eusebius*, <sup>h</sup> out of *Origen*, doth expressely say it. And though that peece of *Origen* be lost out of which *Eusebius* took the same; yet wee may take it on his word without more authority. Nor did he only preach the Gospel in those parts of *Asia*, strictly and properly so called; but he also planted many Churches, & founded in them many *Bishopricks*. All the 7. Churches, except that of *Ephesus* to which he writ his *Revelation*, were partly, if not totally his foundation: and in all them he constituted *Bishops*, as we shall manifest & declare anon. And as for *Ephesus*, although he came too late to plant it, yet he came time enough to water it; to settle and confirme the same: being much weakned and endangered by the sorceries and devises of *Apolonius Tyanæus*; who for some time did therein dwell; as also by the heresies of *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*, who at that time lived, and therefore rightly doth *Ignatius*, who then lived also, joyn him <sup>i</sup> with *Paul* and *Timothy*, as a Co-founder of that Church. But being in the middle of his course, he was sent prisoner unto *Rome*, Anno 92. thence confined to *Patmos*, where he continued till the death of the Emperour *Domitian*, which

which was in Anno. 99. during which time he writ the *Revelation*. And of those Churches I conceive it was that *Terrullian* speaketh; where pleading in defence of the *Catholik Faith*, delivered by the Apostles. to the Churches by them severally planted; and by the *Bishops* of those Churches taught, & in their successions: he thus brings them in, *Habemus et Iohannis alumnas*, *Ecclesias*, &c. We have faith he, the Churches, founded by *S. Iohn*. For howsoever *Marcion*, doth reject his *Revelation*, *Ordo tamen Episcoporum*, yet the succession of their *Bishops* reckoned up unto their originall, will stand for *Iohn*, to be their founder. And probable at their request it was, that he writ his Gospell. For that he writ it at the intreaty of the *Asian Bishops*, *Rogatus ab Asia Episcopis*, is positively affirmed by *Hierome*: though like enough it is, that other *Bishops* besides those of his owne foundation, might contribute their requests, and importunities to so good a purpose, being all equally afflicted with the pest of Heresies.

The quality and condition of these *Asian Churches*, *S. Iohn* doth punctually describe in his *Revelation*, written in Anno. 97. when as he had beene foure or five yeeres confined to *Patmos*. It seemeth those Churches, most of them at the least, on the Calamity which befell the Apostle in his deportation, being deprived of the benefit of so divine and excellent a spirit, and

k Tertul. lib. 4  
contra Marci.  
Cap. 5.

1 Hier. descrip.  
Ecc. in Iohan.  
& proem. in  
Evang. 3.  
Matth.

III.

Apoc. 1. 4.

Apoc. 2. 1.  
Cap. 8. 12.August. Ep.  
162. in fine.Vid. chap: 3.  
n. 5.

pressed by the importunity of these active hereticks, willing to make the best advantage of the present time, began to stagger in the faith, wax cold in their affection to the Gospell, and to give way to such false Teachers as were crept in amongst them, to rectifie what was amisse amongst them, and to informe them of their errours, did he direct unto them his *Apocalypsi*, " *To the seven Churches in Asia* ; so it doth begin. But when he comes unto particulars, to give them every one their particular charge, from him who walked in the midst of the Golden Candlesticks, then he addresseth his discourse to the Angels only, the Angels of those severall Churches. " *Unto the Angell of the Church of Ephesus*, and to the " *Angell of the Church of Smyrna* ; and to the *Angell of the Church of Pergamus*, & sic de ceteris. Now aske the Fathers what those Angels were, and they will tell you that they were the Bishops of those severall Churches. " *S. Austin* writing on these words, *Unto the Angell of the Church of Ephesus*, &c. makes this observation, *Divina voce sub Angeli nomine laudatur prappositus Ecclesia*, that the Bishop or Governour of the Church, (remember what was said before of the word " *Prappositus* ) is praised by the voice of Christ, under the name of an Angell: But first he gives a reason of his resolution, shewing that this exhortation could not be applyed to those *Administring spirits* in the heavens, because they still retained their *first love* to God, and there-

therefore must be understood, *de praposis Ecclesie*, of the Rulers or Governours of the Church, who had given way to false Apostles. The like occurreth in his Comment on the Revelation, wherein he maketh the *Angels* of these Churches, to be *Episcopi aut praposis Ecclesiarum*, the Bishops or Rulers of the same. The Commentaries under the name of Ambrose, poynting unto this place of the Apocalypse, give us this short note, *Angelos Episcopus dicit*, that by *Angels* there he meaneth Bishops. And these ascribed to Hierome, writing on those words, *Because of the Angels*, 1 Cor. 11. *Angels* observes the same, *Angelos ecclesie presidentes dicit*, that there by *Angels* S. Paul intends the Presidents or Rulers of the Churches. Finally *Oecumenius* saith the same; who speaking of the 7. Churches in Asia, to whom S. John addresseth his discourses, observes to that John ascribes to them, *ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντες ἄγγελοι* an equall or proportionable number of governing *Angels*. And on those words the 7. stars are the *Angels of the 7. Churches*, makes this glosse or Comment, *ἀνέως ἢ τοῦ ἁγγέλου τοῦ ἑκαστοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἑορῶν καλεῖται* that hee calleth these *Angels*, governours of Churches by the name of stars, because they borrow all their light from the Sun of Righteousnesse.

For Protestant Writers which affirme the same, I begin with those which speake most generally and indefinitely: where first we have *Sebastian Meyer, Ecclesiarum Presbiteri, & stella & An-*

Amb. in 1 Cor  
cap. 11.

Hier. ib.

Oecumen. ca.  
1. in Apoca.

II. cap. 3. in  
Apocal.

x citta, apud  
Marlorat, in  
Cap. 1. Apoca.  
v. 20.

y Bullin. con,  
6. in Apocal.

z id. in con,  
9.

a Paræus in  
Apocal. Cap.  
1. v. 20.

b Beza Annor.  
Apoc. c. 3. v. 1.

*Angel, in sacris literis dicuntur*; the Governours of Churches are called, saith he, in holy Scripture, by the name of Stars, and Angels. <sup>y</sup> *Bullenger* to the same effect, *Angeli sunt legati Dei, Pastores Ecclesiarum*, the Angels are the Messengers of God, the Pastors of the Churches; in which, lest possibly wee might mistake his meaning, in the word Pastor, hee tels us not long after, that he meanes the Bishop, for speaking of the Angel, or the Pastor of the Church of Smyrna, he tels us that hee was that *Polycarpus*, as it was indeed, *Ordinatus ab Apostolis, ab ipso inquam Iohanne Episcopo*, who was ordeined Bishop of that Church by the Apostles, nay by *Iohn* himselfe. *Paræus*<sup>a</sup> is as generall as the other two, but far more expresse. *Episcopus vocat stellas, &c.* The Bishops are called Stars, saith he, because they ought to out-shine others, aswell in purity of Doctrine, as sincerity of Conversation in the Church of God: *eisdem Angelos vocat, quia sunt Legati Dei ad Ecclesiam*, and they are also called Angels, because they are the Legats or Embassadors of God to his holy Church. And lest we should mistake our selves, and him, in the word *Episcopus*, he laboureth to find out the Bishop of each severall Church, as wee shall see hereafter in that inquisition: for those who speake to the particular, wee begin with *Beza*,<sup>b</sup> who on those words, *unto the Angel of the Church of Ephesus*, gives this Annotation.



tion. Angelo, i. e. *quoniam nimirum oportuit imprimis de his rebus admoneri, &c.* To the Angel, that is, saith he, to the chiefe President, whom it behoved to have the notice of the charge there given, and by him to the rest of his *Colleagues*, and the whole congregation: but fearing lest this exposition might give some advantage, for the upholding of the Hierarchie, which he so laboured to pul down, he addes, *de proprio*, that notwithstanding this acknowledgement, Episcopall authority, being a thing of mans invention, *hinc statui, nec potest, nec debet*, nor may, nor ought to have any ground from hence. Finally, *Marlorat* himselfe on those very words, shewes that how ever there were many things in the Church of *Ephesus*, which required reformation, both in the Clergy and the people; *Non tamen populum aggreditur, sed Clerum*, yet the Apostle doth not apply himselfe unto the people, but the Clergy. Nor doth he fashion his discourse to the Clergy generally, *Sed ad Principem Cleri, Episcopum utique*, but to the chief or Principall of the Clergy, which was the *Bishop*.

Nay, *Marlorat* goes further yet, and he as he layeth downe his interpretation, so he doth also give a reason of it; and such a one as may well satisfie any man of reason. His reason is, *Nam Pastor non modo pro propriis, &c.* Because the Pastor is not onely to render an account to the supream judge, for his owne sins alone,

*Marlorat, Ecc.  
Exposit, in  
Apocal.  
c. 2. v. 1.*

V.

*Idem Ibid.*

“ lone, but for the sins of all his flock, if any of  
“ them by his sloth or negligence do chauce to  
perish. And certainly this reason is of speciall  
use and efficacy to the poynt in hand. For if  
the Lord doe looke for an account at the Pa-  
stors hand, for every sheepe that shall be lost  
by his sloth or negligence: it must needs fol-  
low thereupon, that those of whom so strict  
reckoning is expected must not have power on-  
ly to perswade and counsaile, but also to cor-  
rect and censure, and by their owne proper &  
innate authority, to rectifie such things as are  
amisse in their severall charges. The Sonne of  
God is neither so unjust, as that the Pastor  
should be charged with those enormities,  
which he hath no authority to amend or recti-  
fie: nor so forgetfull as to threaten and rebuke  
the Pastor, not onely for the peoples fau'ts,  
but the Errata of the Presbyters, in case he were  
not trusted with a greater power then any of  
the rest, for that end and purpose. Which be-  
ing so, and that our Saviour by *S. Iohn* doth  
send out his sumōns neither unto the Church  
in generall, nor to the Presbyters in common,  
but to the Angell of each Church in the singu-  
lar number: it is most plaine and evident, as I  
conceive, that in the time of writing the *Apo-  
calypse*, as long time before it, the Church of  
Christ had certaine Pastors, of more eminent  
note, when they (as we) intituled *Bishops*, which  
governed as well the Presbyters, as the rest of  
the

the Flocke; and those the Son of God acknowledged for stars and Angels. And howsoever the inferiour Pastors both are, and may be called Angels, in a generall sense, as Messengers and Ministers of God Almighty: yet if it be the Angell in the singular number, the Angell in the way of eminence and *κατ' ἐξουσίαν*, it is peculiar onely to the *Bishop*.

VL

Now that each Church of those remembred in that Booke, had his proper Angell, and that they were not governed by a Corporation or Colledge of Presbyters, to whom those severall Epistles might be sent, by the name of Angels, the word Angell being to be taken collectively, and not individually, as some men suppose, is in the next place to be shewed. And first for prooffe, there is a pregnant evidence in a discourse or treatise touching the Martyrdome of *Timothy*: the Author of the which relates, that after *S. John* the Apostle, was revoked from his exile, by the sentence, of *Nerva*, he betooke himselfe to the *Metropolis* of *Ephesus*: *ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ ἐφεσίου*, and being assisted with the presence of, the seven *Bishops*, he tooke upon himselfe the, government of the *Metropolis* of the *Ephesians*, and there continued preaching the Doctrine, of salvation till the time of *Traian*. Which as it is an evident and convincing prooffe, that the seaven Churches had their severall *Bishops*, to each Church one *Bishop*: so is it no such difficult

Smeatman, p.  
529

apud Phot. in  
Biblioth. no.  
254.

V. Paræm in  
Apocal. cap. 2.

Constitut. A-  
post. l. 7. c. 48.

Ignat. in Epist.  
ad Ephes.

ficult matter, to find out most of them by name, and what Church each of them did governe. And first for *Ephesus*, some have conceived that *Timothy* was stil alive, & Bishop at that time when the *Apocalypse* was written: which hotly is defended by *Alcasar*, against *Ribera*, *Lyra*, and *Pererius*, who opine the contrary. But surely *Timothy* it could not be, as doth appeare in part by that which was alledged out of the treatise of his Martyrdome, which if it were not written by *Polycrates*) is yet very antient, and authenticke: wherein he is conceived to be dead before: but principally by the quality and condition of that blessed Evangelist, so plentifully endued with the *Holy ghost*, so eminent in piety, and all heavenly graces, that no man can conceive him lyable to the accusation, with which the Angell of that Church is charged. And therefore it must either be that *John*, when (on the death of *Timothy*, as I conceive) *S. John* ordained Bishop of this Church, as is reported in the Constitutions, ascribed to *Clemens*: or else *Onesimus*, another of the Successors of *Timothy* in the See of *Ephesus*, who is intituled Bishop of it in the Epistle of *Ignatius*, written to that Church; within twelve yeeres after the writing of the *Revelation*. In which Epistle *Ignatius* blessing God for so good a Bishop, admonisheth the people of their duty, *αὐτῷ παραστήσαντες τὰ σώματα*, in submitting themselves unto his judgement, or concurring with

with it, as their whole Presbytery did : which harmony of the *Bishop* and his Presbyters, he doth compare *ὡς χορὴ καὶ ψαλμὸς* unto the concord of the Strings and Harpe. In which he speaks if you observe, as of a *Bishop* that had bene long confirmed, and settled in his place of government; and knew the temper of his people: one that was vested with a constant, and fixt preheminance above his Presbyters, not with a temporary Presidency, and no more then so.

But whatsoever doubt or scruple may be made; about *Onesimus*, his being Bishop, or Angell at this time, of the Church of *Ephesus*; certaine I am, there can be none pretended against *Polycarpus*, as if he were not then the Angell of the Church of *Smyrna*: he being made *Bishop* of that See 13 yeeres before, as *Bullinger* computes the time, and holding it a long while after, no lesse then 74 yeeres, as the *Annals* reckon it, without vicissitude or alteration. Now that this *Polycarpus* was Bishop of this Church of *Smyrna*, appears by such a cloud of witnesses, as he that questioneth it, may with equall reason, make doubt of yesterday. And first we have *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch*, one of his Co-temporaries, who taking him *in transitu*, as he was led from *Syria*, towards *Rome* to suffer Martyrdome, did after write to him an Epistle, in which he stileth him, in the superscriptiō, *Ἐπίσκοπος ἱερωνόμος Σμυρναίων*, the

VII.

Bullenger in  
Apocal. Conc.  
9.

Ignat. Epist.  
ad Polycarp.

Irenæus apud  
Euseb. l. 4. c. 10.  
& con. hæres.  
l. 3. c. 3.

apud Euseb.  
Ecclesiast. l. 4.  
c. 15.

ap. Euseb. hist.  
Ecclesiast. l. 5. c. 24.

Tertul. lib. de  
prescript.

Euseb. hist.  
Ecclesiast. l. 3. c. 30.

the *Bishop* of the Church of *Smyrna*. *Irenæus*, one of his disciples, and who had often heard the good man discourse of his conversatiō with *S. Iohn*, reporteth that he was not only taught by the Apostles, and had conversed with many of those who had seene Christ in the flesh, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἐπιστάτας καταστὰς ἐν τῇ Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος; but also was by them appoynted Bishop of the Church in *Smyrna*. Next comes in the whole Church of *Smyrna*, in their Encyclicall Epistle of his death, and Martyrdom, where he is called an Apostolicall and Prophe-  
trical Doctor, μαθητὴς ἐπισκοπος; καὶ ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθήμενος ἐκκλησίας; and Bishop of the Catholike Church of *Smyrna*. After them speaks *Polycrates*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, one of the Successours of *Onesimus*, and so by consequence his neighbour, who being 38 yeeres of age at the time of the death of *Polycarpus*, attesteth to him, saying amongst other things, ὅτι ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς that he had beene both *Bishop* and *Martyr* in *Smyrna*. *Tertullian* who lived about the same time with *Polycrates*, though in another clime or region, is more particular in the poynt: not only making him *Bishop* of *Smyrna*, as the others do; but a *Iohanne collocatum refert*, making him to be placed or established there by *S. Iohn* the Apostle. From these hands, and no doubt from many others, it came at last to *Eusebius*, B. of *Cæsarea*, by whom it is affirmed that he was made *Bishop* of the Church of *Smyrna*.



*Smyrna*, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἃ ὤνομα τὸ κύριον, by those which had beheld the Lord, and were his Ministers. S. Hierome finally doth informe us, that he was a Disciple of S. Iohns, & ab eo *Smyrnæ Episcopus ordinatus*, and by him ordained *Bishop* of *Smyrna*. By which it is most clear and evident that he was the Angell or *Bishop* of this Church, and thereto constituted by S. Iohn, other of the Apostles and Disciples of our Lord and Saviour, concurring in the Ordination. No titular or nominall *Bishop* only, but such a one as had a body of Presbyters assistant and subservient to him, as doth most evidently appeare out of *Igratius* his Epistle unto those of *Smyrna*; wherein he telleth them, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπισκοπὴ τῆς ἐκκλησίας &c. that they ought not to doe any thing, no not so much as to administer the Sacrament, without the consent and approbation of their *Bishop*.

The Angell of the Church of *Pergamus* is next in order; but who this was, is not so easie to determine. That there had beene a Bishop of this Church before, is proved by *Paras* out of *Areas Casariensis*, who makes *Antipas* (whom we find mentioned *Apocal.* 2. 13) to be the Pastor of this Church under the Empire of *Domitian*, who being cruelly put to death by the *Pergamenians*, successor ejus habundantius fuit iste, ad quem scribit, his successor, as there *Paras* doth observe. must out of question be the man, to whom as to the Angell of that

De Scriptor.  
Eccles. n Poly-  
car.

Ignat. Epist.  
ad Smyrenen.

VIII.

Paras Com.  
in Apocal. c. 2.



Id. in v. 14.

Id. in v. 18.

Apr. 13.  
Euseb. l. 4. c.  
14.

that Church, these things are written. And he informes us this withall, that *similis supplicii metu*, for fear of the like punishment which *Antipas* suff. red, though he continued constant in the faith of Christ, he might grow more remisse and negligent in looking to his Pastorall Office. So then, the Angell of this Church, was *Pergamensis Episcopus*, the Biishop of *Pergamus*, as he plainly cals him; and possibly may be that *Gaius* whom *Clemens* makes to be ordained Biishop of this Church, by the hands of some of the Apostles. Or if not he, yet questionlesse some one particular person, as *Parasus* saith: this we may rely upon, though his name we know not. Next is the Angel of the Church of *Thyatira*, *Antistes Thyatirensis*, that is, the Biishop of *Thyatira*, saith *Parasus*. That *Thyatira* had a Biishop, as other the seven Churches had, was affirmed before. And probably the Biishop of it at this time, might be that *Carpus*, who by the name of *Carpus* Biishop of *Thyatira* did suffer Martyrdome, during the persecution raised by *Antoninus*; whereof consult the Martyrologies, compared with *Eusebius lib. 4*. How ever we may take what *Parasus* gives us, that the Angell of this Church was the Biishop of it, one singular and individuall person, to whom our Saviour doth direct his charge: though there be somewhat in the text, which is alledged to the contrary. For whereas in the two former Epistles, and the beginning

ming of the present, the stile is singular, *I know thy works, and I have somewhat against thee*; here on a suddaine, as it were, the stile is altered, and it is *Vobis autem dico*, but I say to you, and unto the rest in *Thyatira*. Hence some infer, that by the word Angell in that place, is meant not any one singular person, but the whole company of Presbyters; and by the rest, the residue of that people there: the people governed, and the governours in the plurall number. But this as I conceive, will availle but little: these alterations or enallages of number, being no rare matters in the Scripture: as doth appear by that so memorable place in the first of *Timothy*, *Salvabitur autem si permanserint*, where the Apostle doth begin in *Ibe*, and end in *they*. Besides it is observed, that the antienter and better Copies, read it without the copulative, *ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς ἀγγέλῳ, I say to you, the rest in Thyatira*; the spirit there addressing his discourse to those godly men, that had not knowne the depths of Satan. And so, besides the antient Copy, sent hither by the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, and cited by my L<sup>d</sup>. B. of *Exeter*, doth *Primasius* read it. *Vobis autem dico, reliqui qui estis Thyatira.* *Param* also doth observe, *Veserem sine copula*, that the old *Latine* hath not the conjunction; and that *Andreas* and *Montanus* doe adhere to that. So that for all this observation, the Angell of this Church was a singular person. And this doth

Apoc. 2.2.4.9.  
13. 14. 19.20.

Apoc. 2.24.  
Smectym.p.  
53.

1 Tim. 2.15.

Apoc. 2.24.

Def. of the  
humble Re-  
monstr. p.105.  
Primasius in  
Apoc. li.c.2.

Cited in the  
Def. of the  
Remonstr. p.  
105.

In Can. Apoc.

Epistola, 52.

In Can. Apo. a.

Vindication  
&c. p. 140 in  
mag.

### IX.

Parus in A-  
pocal. c. 3. v. 1.

doth further yet appeare (since we are fallen upon these Criticisines) by some ancient readings of the 20. verse. For whereas now wee read in our usuall Copies, *in yuana Ischia*, the *roman Isebel*, the old Greeke Copy from Constantinople, writ above 1300. yeeres agoe, doth read it *ἡ γυναῖκα οὐ Ισραήλ*, *thy wife Isebel*, and so doth that also of *Aretas Casariensis*. And this doth seeme to be the ancients and the truer reading, as being followed by S. Cyprian, and *Primasius* also; (the first of which lived 1400 yeeres agoe) in whom we read *uxorem tuam*. And though I grant that the Originall standing thus, may be translated *thy woman Isebel*, or *that woman of thine Isebel*, as I perceive some men would have it: yet then it must be granted therewithall, that the Angell of this Church was one singular, individuall person, not a body Collective. It could not otherwise be thine, but yours.

The fifth in order of these Angels, is he of *Sardis*, *Ecclesia Antistes*, the Bishop of that Church, as *Parus* noteth: and hee observes withall, *veteres quosdam*, that some ancient writers, conceive that *Melito*, of whom *Eusebius* speaketh, *lib. 4. cap. 26.* was then the Bishop of this Church, and probably it might be so. For howsoever he excepteth against this opinion, because that *Melito* was Bishop of this place under *Antoninus*, *sanctum vero Melitonem, Sardibus praefuisse non est verisimile*, and there-

therefore that it is not likely that he should so long hold this Bishopricke: yet granting it in *Polycarpus, et diu Smyrnenibus praesuisse*, that he was Bishop of *Smyrna* for as long a time; I see no reason why the like may not bee granted of the other also: as for his other reason, that *Melito* is commended for his sanctimony, and the Angell here accused for his Hypocrisie; it may well be, that though this Angell were accused of Hypocrisie, at the present time, yet having many good things in him, he might be brought unto a sence thereof, upon this admonition from our Lord and Saviour, and so become a carefull, and a painefull Pastor. So that the ancient Writers, as *Eusebius* saith, reporting that this Angell was that *Melito*, may be believed, for ought I see unto the contrary, in that affirmation, and this I am the rather inclined to thinke, because I find a tract of *Melitos*, inscribed *Onesimo Fratri*, unto *Onesimo* his Brother, who was the Angell of the Church of *Ephesus*, as before was said, which shewes they lived together in one age or time. The Angell of the Church of *Philadelphia*, must be looked on next, whom some conceive to be *Quadratus*, a scholler or disciple of the Apostles, of whom *Eusebius* speakes, lib. 3. cap. 37. But surely if *Eusebius* speakes of him at all, it is as Bishop of *Athens*, not of *Philadelphia*; unlesse perhaps we may conceive that being first Bishop of *Philadelphia*, he was translated afterwards

*Euseb. hist.  
Eccles. l. 4. c. 25.*

*Pareus in  
Apocal. c. 3.*

Ignar. ad Philadelpheus.

Parvus in Apocal. cap. 3.

wards to *Athens*, (*Pablius* the Bishop being dead, whom he there succeeded) which I somewhat doubt. But whatsoever was his name, or whether he were that *Demetrium*, who as *Clemens* saith, was by *S. Paul*, made Bishop of this place, I take him for the very man whom *Ignatius* speaks of in his Epistle to this people: where speaking of their Bishop, he tels them this, that at the very first sight of him he did plainly see, *ὅτι ἐκ αὐτοῦ, ἡδὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ*, that neither of his owne desire, nor by choyce of man was he preferred unto that place, but by the love of Jesus Christ, and God the Father: commending him for modesty, and for a carefull walking in Gods Commandements, being like *Zachary*, without reproofe; and finally, not only free from passion, but perfectly adorned with all kind of vertue. A commendation very well agreeing with that bestowed upon this Angel by the Holy Ghost; as did the Character of the Angell of the Church of *Smyrna*, agree unto the quality of *Polycarpus* the then Bishop of it: it being generally observed, as it is most true, that onely these two Angels are presented to us, without fault or blemish. Last of all, for the Angell of the Church of *Laodicea*, *parvus*, as before conceiveth, that he was the Bishop, *quis vero fuerit, nos later*; but who this Bishop was, that he cannot tell. Onely he notes him for a man, *qui Episcopi titulum perfunctoris sustineret*, that onely had the name



name of Bishop, but not one lively sparke of  
 piety, being wholly taken up with luxury, and  
 the love of money. But whether he were *Lucius*  
 mentioned by *S. Paul*, *Rom. 16.* whom *Doro-*  
*theus* makes to be Bishop here; or one *Archip-*  
*pus*, said by *Clemens* to be the Bishop of this  
 Church; or *Sagaris*, who by *Polyrates* is affir-  
 med to be the Bishop of this place; I am not  
 able to say positively: though I incline rather  
 unto *Sagaris*, whose Martyrdome being tou-  
 ched upon by *Aetius*, in his bookes *de Pascha-*  
*te*, is a strong argument that he departed  
 some good time before him, and so most like  
 to be the man. Nor is it any obstacle unto this  
 conjecture, that Christ did threaten to *spew*  
*this Angel out of his mouth*; being he called him to  
 repentance, and promised him a throne, if he o-  
 vercame.

To bring this businesse to an end, these An-  
 gels as they had a singularity in reference unto  
 that personall authority which each of them  
 enjoyed in his severall Church: so had they all  
 and every one of them a singularity, in the  
 succession thereunto. For sure it were no diffi-  
 cult matter to a diligent eye, to find out many  
 of their successours, in those severall Sees: since  
 that of *Lapideca*, which was in most apparant  
 danger to lose its Candlesticke, retained a  
 continual and constant successours of Bishops  
 there, from the death of *Sagaris*, to the *Nicene*  
 Councill, and a long time after. Where, by

Euseb, hist.  
 Eccl. 1.5.c.23.

Id. 1.4.c.25.

apocal. 3.16.

V. 19.30.31.

X.

Paras in  
Apocal. 3. v.

Act. Conc.  
Nic. in subscr.

Perpet. gover.  
chap. 13. p.  
267.

the way, I must needs rectifie *Paras* in this one particular, who shewing that this Church of *Laodicea*, did afterwards recover & get strength againe, instanceth in *Anatolius* and *Stephanus*, both eminent and learned men, and both Bishops there; whereas indeed they were not Bishops of this *Laodicea*, but of *Laodicea in Syria*, (called antiently *Seleucia Tetrapsis*) as he might easily have scene, by a more carefull looking on those places of *Eusebius*, which himselic hath cited: Now in the *Nicene* Council, if we like of that, we find the Successors of those severall Angels, subscribing severally to the Acts thereof, amongst other Prelates of that time; as viz. *Menophanes* of *Ephesus*, *Eutychius*, B. of *Smyrna*, for the province of *Asia*, *Artemidorus* B. of *Sardis*, *Seron* or *Serrus* B. of *Thyatira*, *Ethymasius* B. of *Philadelphia*, for the province of *Lydia*; and finally *Nunechius* B. of this *Laodicea*, for the province of *Phrygia*, for *Theodorus*, who by *Bisson* is affirmed to have subscribed as Bishop of this *Laodicea*, was Bishop of *Laodicea* in the province of *Syria*, amongst the Bishops of which province his subscription is: which I marvell that most learned and industrious Prelate did not see. And though we find not him of *Pergamius*, amongst them there; yet after in the Council of *Chalcedon*, doth his name occur. In fine, by the person that speaketh to the Pastors, and those seven Churches, and the name he giveth them; it

is plaine and evident, that their vocation was not onely confirmed by the Lord himselfe, but their Commission expressed. He speaketh, that hath best right to appoynt what Pastors he would have to guide his flocke, till himselfe come to judgement: the name he giveth them, sheweth their power and charge to be delivered them from God; and consequently each of them in his severall charge and City, must have Commission to reforme the errours and abuses in their severall Churches, at whose hands it shall be required, by him that shall sit judge to take account of their doings. And so much for the Angels of the seven Churches in *Asia*, remembred in the booke of the *Revelation*.

But to goe forwards to *S. Iohn*, the Author of it, immediately on his returne from *Patmos*, he sets himselfe unto the reformation of these Churches, calling together the Bishops of the same, as before we shewed: and governing both those and the adjoyning Churches of *Asia minor*, by his Apostolicall authority and preeminence. Which having done, on the intreaty and request of some godly men, he went unto the neighbour nations, *ἔμεινεν αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησίαις κατὰ τὴν ἰσταν*, in some places instituting or ordaining Bishops, in others rectifying and reforming the whole Churches, and in a word, by the direction of the spirit, founding a Clergy in the same. It seemes the journey was not farre, the places which he visited being said to be *ἡ Ἰσταν*

XI.

Clemens alex.  
ap. Euseb.  
hist. l. 3. c. 17.

Concil. Chal.  
in subscript.

Ignat. Epist.  
ad Magnes.

Clem. Alexap.  
Euseb. hist. l.  
2. c. 17.

the neighbouring nations: and indeed the Apostle was now growne too old, to endure much travell, being neere an hundred, at this time. And therefore I conceive that the Episcopall Sees of *Tralli* and *Magnesia*, were of this foundation: being Cities not farre off, and after reckoned as the *Suffragans* of the Archb. or Metropolitan of *Ephesus*. Certaine I am, that they were both of the Sees of Bishops, as doth appeare by the Epistles of *Ignatius*; in which he nameth *Polybium* Bishop of *Trallis*, and *Damas* Bishop of *Adagnesia*: and those not titular Bishops onely, but, such as were to bee obeyed, *καὶ ὅτι μὴδὲν αὐτῷ ἀνταγῆναι*, without gain-saying; and without whose allowance, there was a *μὴδὲν ἀντιτάσσιν* layed upon the Presbyters, who were not to doe any thing in their ministrations, but by his authority. One other Bishop there is said to be of *S. Iohn's* ordaining, viz. the Young-man which *Clement* speaks of, whose aspect being liked by the Apostle, he left him to the care and tutorage of an ancient Bishop of those parts. And when the Young-man afterwards for want of carefull looking to, became debauched, & made himself the Captaine of a crew of Out-lawes; the blessed Saint with much adoe, reclaimed him from that wretched course, and afterwards having new moulded him and prepared him for it, *κατέστη τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, made him a Bishop in the Church. But whether that the word will beare that

that sense, as to the making him a Bishop, or that it only doth imply, that *S. John* placed him in some function of the holy Ministry; *Ecclesia ministerio praefectus*, as *Christopherson* reads it, I will not contend. Only I cannot but observe, that where the Bishop to whose care he was committed, is in the prosecution of the Story, called *episcopus*: some have collected from the same, that Bishops in those times were no more then Presbyters. But this will prove, if better looked on, but a plaine mistake: the word *episcopus* in that place, noting the Bishops age, and not his office, as doth appeare by that which followeth in the Story, where he is called *senior*, which certainly doth signifie an ancient man, but not a Presbyter.

Vnbiſhopping  
of Tim. &  
Tit. p. 126.

XII.

Beda de sex  
aetatibus.

In Annal. Ecc.

ſig. 1. 1. 1.

ſig. 1. 1. 1.

The *Aſian* Churches being thus ſetled and confirmed in the faith of Chriſt, partly by the paines and trauaile of this bleſſed man, but principally by the Goſpell, and other peeces of Diuine holy Scripture, by him written, and publiſhed about this time, hee went vnto the Lord his God in a good old age, being then 98 yeares old, as *Beda* reckoneth, in the beginning of the ſecond century, *anno* 101, according to the comparation of *Baronius*: the Church at his departure hee left firmly grounded in all the points of faith and doctrine, taught by Chriſt our Saviour, as well ſetled in the outward government, the poſſity and adminiſtration of the ſame, which had bene framed by

d

the

the Apostles, according to the patterne and example of their Lord and Master. For being that the Church was borne of Seed immortall, and they themselves though excellent and diuine, yet still mortall men; it did concerne the Church in an high degree, to be provided of a perpetuity, or if you will an immortality of Over-seers, both for the sowing of this Seed, and for the ordering of the Church, or the field it selfe. This since they could doe in person, they were to doe it by their Successours; who by their Office were to be the ordinary Pastors of the Church, and the Vicars of Christ. Now if you aske the Fathers who they were, that were accounted in their times and ages, the Successours of the Apostles; they will with one accord make answer that the Bishops were. To take them as they lived in order, it is affirmed expressly by *Irenaeus*, one who conversed familiarly with *Polycarpus*, *S. Iohn's* disciple. He speaking of those Bishops which were ordained by the Apostles, and shewing what perfections were in them required, then addes, *Quis & Successores relinquebant suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes*, whom they did leave to be their Successours, delivering unto them their owne place of government. *S. Cyprian* next writing to *Cornelius*, then Bishop of *Rome*, exhorts him to endeavour to preserve that unity, *Per Apostolos nobis Successoribus traditam*, which was comended by the Apostles, unto them and their

Suc-

*Iren. l. 3. c. 3.*

*Cypr. Epist.  
42. vel. l. 2.  
cp. 10.*



Successours. So in another place, speaking of the commission which our Saviour gave to his Apostles, he adds that it was also given to those *Prepositi*, rulers and governours of the Church, *Qui Apostolis Vicaria ordinatione succedunt*, which by their ordination have beene substituted as Successours to them. And lest we should mistake his meaning in the word *Prepositi*, *Firmilianus* another Bishop of those times, in an Epistle unto *Cyprian*, useth instead thereof the word *Episcopi*, not varying in the rest from those very words, which *Cyprian* had used before. *Hierome*, although conceived by some to be an adversary of the Bishops, doth affirme as much. Where speaking of *Ambrosianus* and his faction, he shewes this difference betwixt them and the Church of God: *viz.* that they had cast the Bishop downewards, made him to be the Third in order; *Apud nos Apostolorum locum Episcopi tenent*, but in the Catholick-Church of Christ, the Bishops held the place or roome of the Apostles. The like he saith in his Epistle to *Euagrius*, where speaking of the parity of Bishops amongst themselves, that the eminency of their Churches did make no difference in their authority; he gives this reason of the same, *Omnes Apostolorum successores sunt*, because they were all Successours to the Apostles. So also in his Comments on the Booke of Psalmes, writing upon those words, *In stead of thy Fathers, thou shalt have chil-*  

d 2

Id Epist. 69.  
vel. l. 4. ep. 10.

Firmil. ep. Cy.  
Epist. 75.

Hieron. al  
Mirell. adu.  
Mont.

Id. ad. Euagrius.

Id. in Psalm.  
44.

dren,

August. in  
Psal. 44.

August. Epist.  
42.  
Id. Epist. 41.

Grego. Magr.  
hom. 26.

den, he tels us that at first, the Apostles were the Fathers of the Church; but they being gon, *statim probat Episcopos filios*, the Church had Bishops in their stead: which though they were her children, as begotten by her, *Sunt tamen & patres tui*, yet they were also Fathers to her, in that she was directed and guided by them. S. *Austin*, on the same words hath the like conceit, the Fathers of the Church, saith he, were the Lords Apostles; *Pro Apostolis filii nati sunt tibi, constituti sunt Episcopi*, instead of those Fathers, the Church hath children, Bishops that be ordained in her, such whom she calleth Fathers, though her selfe begat them, & *constituit in sedibus patrum*, and placed them in the seats or thrones of those holy Fathers. The like the same S. *Austin* in another place, the root, &c. S. *Austin* to the same effect. The root, saith he, of Christian Religion, is by the seats of the Apostles; & *successiones Episcoporum*, and the succession of the Bishops, dispersed and propagated over all the world. And so S. *Gregory* discoursing of the power of binding and loosing, committed by the Lord unto his Apostles, applyes it thus: *Horum nunc in Ecclesia locum Episcopi tenent*, that now the Bishops hold their places in the Church of Christ. Not that the Bishops doe succede them in their personall graces, their mighty power of working Miracles, speaking with tongues, giving the Holy Ghost, and others, such as these, which were

merely

merely temporary: but in their Pastoral charge and government, as the chiefe Rulers of the Church, the ordinary Pastors of the flocke of Christ.

Now that the Bishops are the ordinary Pastors of the Church, and so conceived to be by the ancient Fathers, will be made evident by as good authority as the poynt before. Ignatius, who conversed with most of the Apostles, writing unto the *Antiochians*, requireth them to call to mind *Euodius* (who was his Predecessor, in the See of *Antioch*) τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ ποιμένα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, their most blessed Pastor. *Tertullian* discoursing on those words of Christ, *The hireling seeth the Wolfe comming and fleeth*; but that the *Good Shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep*, Job. 10. inferreth thereupon, *Præpositos Ecclesie in persecutione fugere non oportere*, that the Prelates or governours of the Church, are not to flye in persecution. By which it is most clear, (not to dispute the truth of his assertion) that Pastor & *Præpositus Ecclesie* doe come both to one. S. *Cyprian* in his tract *de Al. atore*, is more plaine and positive, *Nam ut constat nos, i. e. Episcopos, Pastores esse ovium spiritualium*, &c. that it might evidently appeare, saith he, that wee, the Bishops, are the Pastors of the Flocke of Christ: he said to *Peter*, feed my Sheepe. And in another place, (for feare the former Booke may prove none of his) expostulating with *Papianus*, who charged him, as it seemeth, for

XIII.

Ignat. Epist. ad Antioch.

Tertull. de fuga in persequ.

Cyp. de Al. atore.

Id. Epist. 69.

some defect in his administration, he thus drives the poynt. Behold, saith he, for these six yeeres, *Nec fraternitas habuerit Episcopum*, neither the brother-hood hath had a Bishop, nor the people a *Præpositus* or Ruler, nor the Flocke a Pastor, nor the Church a governour, nor Christ a Prelate, nor God a Priest. Where plainly, *Pastor and Episcopus* and so all the rest are made to be the same one function. More clearly in another place of the same Epistle, where he defineth a Church to be *Plæbs sacerdoti adunata, & Pastori suo grex adharens*, that is to say, a people joyned or united rather to their Priest, a Flock adhering to their Pastor. Where by *Sacerdos*, as before, (and in other Authors of the first times) he meaneth no other then a Bishop, as doth appeare by that which followeth. *Vnde scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesiâ &c.* From whom thou oughtest to understand, saith he, the Bishop to be in the Church, and the Church to be also in the Bishop, & that whoever is not with the Bishop, is not in the Church. *Operatus* saith the same in brieft, by whom *Pastor sine grege, & Episcopus sine populo*, a Bishop without a Church or people, & a pastor without a Flocke, are joyned together as *Synonyma*. *S. Austin* speaking of two sorts of over-seers in the fold of Christ, some of them being children, and the others hirelings; then addes, *Præpositi autem qui filii sunt, Pastores sunt*, the Rulers which are children (of the Church) they are the

*Opera de schismate, lib. 1.*

*August. tract. 46. in Ioh.*

the Pastors. And in another place not long since cited, speaking of *Episcopale iudicium*, the condemnation that attends the Bishops sentence; he presently subjoynes, *Pastoralis carmen necessitas*, that yet the necessity incumbent on the Pastorall Office, doth many times inflict such sentences for the publicke safety of the Flocke. I might be infinite in this search, but that I have spok somewhat to the poynt already: and am moreover saved all further labour in it, by our learned *Andreas*. affirming positively and expressly, *Apud veteres Pastorum nomen vix adhiberi, nisi cum de Episcopis loquuntur*, the name of Pastor is scarce used among the Ancients, but when they have occasion to speake of Bishops. And *Binius* in his notes upon the Councils, excepts against a fragment of the Synod of *Rhemes*, said to be held Anno 630. as not of that antiquity which is there pretended: and that he doth upon this reason onely, *Eo quod titulum Pastoris tribuat Parocho*, because the stile of Pastor is there given to the common Presbyter, contrary to the usage of those elder times.

And certainly it is no wonder that it should be so, that he who is *Episcopus & Pastor animarum*, the Bishop and Pastor of our soules, as *S. Peter* calls him, should conferre on them both his titles: since he hath substituted and appoynted them to be his Vicars, here on earth. The Pope may challenge, if he will this title, to himselfe alone: but since antiquity hath given it to all Bishops

I. de concept.  
& p. 1. c. 15.

Resp. ad Epif.  
Petri Molinari.

Tom. 3. part 2  
p. 978.

XIV.

1 Petri 2. 25.

Ambr. in i.  
ad Cor. cap. 11.

Opus imper-  
fect, in Matth.  
ho. n. 17.

Lib. qu. ver. &  
N. test. qu. 127.

Concil. Com.

Petr. Blesens.  
S. m. 47.

shops equally, to every one as much as to him of Rome. S. Ambrose hath resolved it generally, *Episcopus personam habet Christi*, the Bishop, saith he, sustaineth the person of Christ & therefore every woman ought to behave her selfe before the Bishop, as before her Judge: giving this reason therewithall, *Quia Vicarius domini est*, because he is the Vicar of the Lord. The Commentaries on S. Matthew, ascribed to Chrysostom, doth affirme the same: where shewing that such men as persecuted or molested those of the holy Sacerdotal order, were either gentiles, or at least fard and senselesse Christians: he gives his reason for the same: *Quia nec intelligunt, nec considerant sacerdotes Christi Vicarios esse*, because they neither understand nor doe consider, that the Bishops, (whom hee there meaneth by Sacerdotes) are the Vicars of Christ. S. Austin to the same effect, as before, S. Ambrose. The Bishop is to be more pure and pious then another man, for he seemeth to susteine the person of God: *Est enim Vicarius ejus*, for he is his Vicar. The Fathers in the Council of Compeigne, Anno 833. thus write: *omnes convenit*, it behoveth all men to understand what is the nature of the government or Ministry of Bishops, *Quos constat esse Christi Vicarios*, who, as it evidently appeares, are the Vicars of Christ. Nay even Blesensis, though he lived and writ when the Papacy was at the height, makes this Description of a Bishop. *Ordinatur Christi Vicarius, Ecclesie Prælatum, &c.*  
He



he is ordained a vicar of Christ, a Prelate of the Church, a Father of men, and a Pastor of Soules: So farre the Ancients have attested to the present businesse, and yet there is one Testimony more, which as it is more ancient, so it is as pertinent as any hitherto produced, viz. The Declaration of the Fathers in the Councell of *Carthage*, anno 258. or rather the attestation of the *Fathers* to that which was affirmed by *Clarus of Muscala*, one of the Bishops there assembled, who being to give his vote upon the businesse then in agitation, first thus layd his grounds. *Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri, &c.* The judgement of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ* is plaine and evident, bequeathing that authority unto his *Apostles*, which had been given him by his Father: to which *Apostles* we are now the *successours*, *eadem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes*, governing the Church by that authority, which they had before. In which we see a cleare and manifest derivation of this power, this *Vicarship*, from God the Father unto Christ, from Christ to his *Apostles*, and by them also to the *Bishops*, and their *successours* in the Church for ever. Not that each *Bishop* in particular hath some particular *Apostle* whom he doth succeed; I conceive not so: but that the *Bishops* generally doe succeed the *Apostles*, and are in generall *Vicars* unto Christ our Saviour, as to the generall government of the

<sup>a</sup> Conc. Carth.  
sub. Cypri.

<sup>1</sup> De Rep eccles.  
l. 2. c. 5. n. 3

the Church of God. <sup>1</sup> *Apostolis datos esse Episcopos successores, non singulis Apostolis, sed in solidum universis*; as the unfortunate Arch-B. of Spalato hath right well observed, conforme unto the Tenet of the Fathers, in this very point. The summe of these three sections then, in brieft is this, Christ by the mission which he had from his heavenly Father, devolves all power on his *Apostles*, for teaching, governing and directing his *little flock*: and they being sensible of their own mortality, ordaine by like authority a line of *Bishops* to succeed them, *ad consummationem seculi*, by whom that care might be perpetuated. In whom, as there is *plenitudo potestatis*, a fullnesse of authority for that end and purpose; the *Bishop* as is said by *Ambrose*<sup>m</sup>, being made up of all the orders in the Church (*nam in Episcopo omnes ordines sunt*, as his words there are:) so he both doth & may assume such and so many associates, assistants, and subservient ministers *in partem operis*, for the discharge of this grear trust; as were assumed by the *Apostles*, or ordained by them, for the publick service of the Church.

<sup>m</sup> Amb. in ep. 4.

XV.

Thus have we seen the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, dispersed in very little time, over all parts and quarters of the world: of so much of it at the least, whereof the Acts and monuments have been recorded to posterity: and therewith a transmission also of that forme of

government, which was begotten by it, and grew up with it. Nor is there any doubt at all, but that into what coasts soever the Lords *Apostles* preached the one, they also in the same did plant the other. The late discoveries of those parts and Countries which were unknown unto our Predecessours, make this cleare enough: there being no place nor Region how remote soever, where there was extant any thing of the Christian Faith, in which there were not found as apparent footsteps of the *Episcopall* forme of government. A pregnant evidence, that as the Lords *Apostles* were by the *holy Ghost* instructed in that Faith, which they were to preach; so by the same *eternall Spirit* they were directed to that forme of government, which they were to plant. They could not else have fallen so unanimously on the selfe same project: nor had God blessed it with so flourishing and faire increase, a growth so suddaine and miraculous; had it not been a graft of his own heavenly plantings. Which graft, what root it tooke in this present Age, in little more then halfe an hundred yeers after *Christs Ascension*; we shall best see by looking on this brieffe *Chronologie*, which I have drawn to that intent.



## The state of *Holy Church* in this first CENTURY.

Anno Chr.

34. **O**UR Saviour Christ suffered and rose again, and ascended into glory.

S. James made Bishop of Hierusalem.

35. The conversion of Paul.

39. S. Peter takes upon him the Bishoprick (or government of the Church) of Antioch.

41. S. Peter Baptizeth Cornelius and his family, opening the doore of life unto the Gentiles.

43. The Disciples first called Christians at Antiochia.

44. Bishops ordained by Saint Peter, in the Churches of Sidon, Berytus, and Laodicea of Syria, and other Cities of the East.

Saint Peter cometh to Rome, and undertaketh the government of the Churches of the Circumcision founded in that City.

Paul and Barnabas called forth by the holy Ghost, to the Apostleship of the Gentiles.

45. Euodius made Bishop of Antioch.

Saint Mark ordaineth Bishop of Alexandria.

46. S.

46. *Saint Peter ordaineth many of his Disciples Bishops, and sendeth them abroad into France, Italy and Spaine.*
49. *S. Paul ordaineth Presbyters in Churches of his plantation.*
50. *Eucherius one of S. Peters Disciples, made Bishop of the Church of Triers in Germany.*
51. *The Jewes banished from Rome by Claudius Caesar: in which regard, S. Peter leaving Rome committeth the government of his Church to Cletus, by birth a Roman.*  
*The Apostolicall Councell in Hierusalem.*  
*S. Paul maketh his first journey into Macedonia.*
52. *S. Paul first Preacheth at Athens, Corinth, &c.*
55. *S. Paul taketh up his abode at Ephesus, and from thence writeth to those of Corinth.*
57. *Timothy ordained by S. Paul the first Bishop of Ephesus.*
- Titus ordained Bishop of Crete by the same Apostle.*
- Other of Pauls Disciples ordained Bishops for the Eastern Churches.*
58. *S. Paul calleth the Elders from Ephesus to Miletum.*
59. *S. Paul brought Prisoner unto Rome, takes on himselfe the government of the Churches of the Gentiles there.*
60. *Archippus Bishop of the Colossians.*  
*Epaphroditus ordained Bishop of the Philippians.*



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61. Crescens made Bishop of Vienna in Dauphine.  
 Paul passeth into Spaine, leaving the Church of Rome to the care of Linus.
63. Simeon elected Bishop of Hierusalem in the place of James, by the joynt consent of the Apostles and Disciples.
64. Anianus succeedeth Mark in the Bishoprick of Alexandria.
67. S. Peter planteth Churches, and ordaineth Bishops, in the Isle of Britaine.
68. Peter and Paul returne to Rome.
69. The martyrdom of Peter and Paul at Rome by command of Nero.
70. Linus and Cletus (or Anacletus) succeed the two Apostles in the government of their Churches there.
71. Ignatius succeedeth Euodius in the See of Antioch.
74. Valerius succedeth Eucherius in the Church of Triers.
80. S. John taketh up his abode in Asia, planting and confirming the Churches there, and ordaining Bishops in the same.
81. Linus being dead, Clemens succeedeth him in the government of the Church of the Gentiles, in Rome.
84. Polycarpus made Bishop of Smyrna by S. John.
87. Abilius succeedeth Anianus in the Bishoprick of Alexandria.

92. *S. John confined unto Patmos, by Domitianus.*
93. *Cletus (or Anacletus) being dead, the Churches of the Circumcision in the City of Rome and parts adjoyning, became united with the Gentiles, under the government of Clemens.*
97. *S. John writeth the Apocalypse to the Seven Churches in Asia.*
98. *S. John restored to Ephesus, foundeth the Churches of Trallis and Magnesia, ordaining Bishops in them both, as in other places.*
99. *At the intreaty of the Asian Bishops, S. John writeth his Gospell.*
100. *Cerdo succedes Abilius in the Bishoprick of Alexandria.*
101. *S. John dieth at Ephesus in a good old age; leaving the government of the Church in the hands of Bishops, as Successours to the Apostles, and the Vicars of Christ.*

The end of the first Part.

§ 1. The first of the Episcopate is the

second of the Episcopate is the

third of the Episcopate is the

fourth of the Episcopate is the

fifth of the Episcopate is the

sixth of the Episcopate is the

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seventeenth of the Episcopate is the

eighteenth of the Episcopate is the

nineteenth of the Episcopate is the

twentieth of the Episcopate is the

3

# THE HISTORIE OF Episcopacy.

*The second Part.*

From the Death of St. JOHN  
the *Apostle*, to the beginning of  
the Empire of CONSTANTINE.

BY  
THEOPHILUS CHURCHMAN.

Iren. lib. III. Cap. III.

*Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab Apo-  
stolis instituti sunt EPISCOPI in  
Ecclesiis, & Successores eorum, usque  
ad nos.*

LONDON  
Printed by Richard Hodgkinsonne, 1642.

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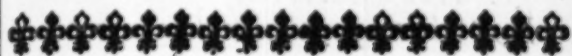
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# THE HISTORIE OF Episcopacy.

## PART. II.

### CHAP. I.

What doth occurre concerning Bishops, and the government of the Church by them, during the first halfe of the second Century.

I. *Of the Condition of the Church of Corinth, when Clemens wrote unto them his Epistle.*

II. *What that Epistle doth containe in reference to this point in hand.*

III. *That by Episcopi, he meaneth Bishops truly and properly so called, proved by the scope of the Epistle.*

A a 2

IV. And

IV. *And by a text of Scripture therein cited.*

V. *Of the Episcopall succession in the Church of Corinth.*

VI. *The Canons of the Apostles ascribed to Clemens, what they say of Bishops.*

VII. *A Bishop not to be ordained under three or two at least of the same order.*

VIII. *Bishops not barred by these Canons from any secular affaires, as concern their families.*

IX. *How farre by them restrained from the employments of the Common Wealth.*

X. *The jurisdiction over Presbyters, given to the Bishops by those Canons.*

XI. *Rome first divided into Parishes, or tituli, by Pope Euaristus.*

XII. *The reasons why Presbyteries or Colleges of Presbyters were planted at the first in Cities.*

XIII. *Touching the superiority over all the flock given to the Bishop by Ignatius.*

XIV. *As also of the Jurisdiction by him, allowed them.*

XV. *The same exemplified in the works of Justin Martyr.*

I.



FROM the Apostles we proceed unto their Disciples, such as conversed with them, and lived nearest to them. And first of all we meet with Clemens, once one of Paul's Disciples, and by him<sup>a</sup> remem-  
bred

<sup>a</sup> Phi. ip. 4. 3.

bred; afterwards *Deacon* to Saint *Peter*, as *Ignatius* tells us: and finally successor to them both in the administration of the Church of *Rome*, as<sup>c</sup> before was shewed. Amongst the severall monuments of piety which he left behinde him, the most renowned is his Epistle to the Church of *Corinth*; of which *Eusebius*<sup>d</sup> gives this testimony, that it was *μεγαλὰ τε καὶ θαυμαστά*, famous and very much admired: adding withall that aswell anciently, as in his times, it used to be read publicly in the Congregation. The occasion which induced him to write the same, was a sedition, or a faction rather, raised in the Church, which from the first Preaching of the Gospell there, had been too much addicted to<sup>e</sup> *Divisions*. But what this faction was about, or what occasion was then taken for the production of new broyles, or the reviving of the old; we shall best see by looking on this peece of *Clemens*; recovered from the ruines of Antiquity by the care and industry of *Patr. Yong*, Library-keeper to his Majestie. There finde we the good man complayning<sup>f</sup> that the Church of *Corinth*, so ancient and wellgrounded in the faith of *Christ*: *ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, should for the sake of one or two contentious persons tumultuate against their *Presbyters*: and that the scandall of their functions should come unto the ears of *Infidels*, to the dishonour of the Lord. Nor

<sup>a</sup> *Epist. ad Trallianus.*

<sup>c</sup> *chapt. 3. N. 2.*

<sup>d</sup> *Euseb. Hist. Ecc. 1. 3 c. 12. 16*

<sup>e</sup> *1 Cor. 3.*

<sup>f</sup> *Clemen. Epist. ad Corinth. p. 62*

<sup>c</sup> Ibid. p. 58.

<sup>a</sup> Part. I. ch 5.

<sup>b</sup> Clem. p. 57.

did the faction rest in the people onely, though it proceeded to that height as <sup>c</sup> the ejecting of those *Presbyters* whom they had distasted: but it had taken too deep footing amongst the *Presbyters* themselves, encroaching with too high an hand on the *Bishop* office, or wilfully neglecting his authority. For whereas in those times, <sup>a</sup> as before was shewn, the blessed *Eucharist*, regularly and according to the Churches Orders, could not be celebrated but by the *Bishop*, by his leave at least, and that it did pertain to him to appoint the *Presbyters* what turns and courses they should have in that ministration; these men perverting all good order, neither observed the time and place appointed for that sacred action, nor kept themselves unto those turns and courses, in the performance of the same, which were assigned them by their *Bishop*. Certain I am that the discourse of *Clemens* in the said Epistle doth militate aswell against the one, as against the other: blaming aswell the *Presbyters* for their irregular proceeding in their *ministration*; as censuring the *People* for their insolency, in the ejecting of their *Presbyters*. So that we have two factions, at this time in the Church of *Corinth*: one of some inconformable *Presbyters*, so farre averse from being regulated by their *Bishop*, as they ought to be, that they opposed the <sup>b</sup> very calling, raising contentions and disputes about the Name and Of-

Office of *Episcopacy*: another of the people against the *Presbyters*, and that pursued with no lesse acrimony and despite, then the former was.

For the repressing of these factions at this present time, and the preventing of the like in the times to come, the good old man doth thus proceed. Beginning with the *Presbyters*, he first presents unto them <sup>i</sup> the obedience that *Souldiers* yeeld to their *Commanders*, shewing them *ὡς ὑπακούετε, ὡς ἡγεμόνας*, how orderly, how readily and with what subjection they execute the severall Commands imposed upon them by their *Leaders*: that since all of them are not *Generals*, *Colonels*, *Captains*, or in other office; every one *ἑκάστης τῆς τάξεως* in his rank or station is to obey the charge imposed upon him, by the King or Emperour, and his *Commanders* in the field. Then represents he to them the <sup>k</sup> condition of the naturall body, in which the head can doe but little without the ministry of the feet, the feet as little (out of question) without direction from the head; that even the least parts of the body are not only profitable, but also necessary, concurring all of them together to the preservation of the whole. Which ground so laid, he thus proceeds in his discourse: *Περὶ δὲ τούτων ὅτι ἡμεῖς ὡς ἑκαστοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, &c.* <sup>i</sup> These things being thus declared and manifested, looking into <sup>l</sup> the depth of heavenly knowledge, we ought <sup>to</sup>

II.

<sup>i</sup> *Id.* p. 48.<sup>k</sup> *Id.* 49.<sup>i</sup> *Id.* p. 52, &c.

"to doe those things in their proper order, the  
 "People in the tendring of their oblations, the  
 "Presbyters in the celebrating of the *Liturgy*, ac-  
 "cording to the times and seasons by the Lord  
 "appointed, who would not have these sa-  
 "cred matters done either rashly or disorder-  
 "ly, but at appointed times and houres, and  
 "by such persons as he hath thereunto desig-  
 "ned by his supream will, that being done de-  
 "voutly and Religiously they might be the  
 "more gratefull to him. They therefore  
 "who upon the times prefixed make their Ob-  
 "lations to the Lord, are blessed, and very wel-  
 "come unto him from whose commands they  
 "doe not vary. τῷ γὰρ Ἀρχιερεὶ, &c. For to the  
 "High-Priests was assigned his particular fun-  
 "ction, the Priest had his peculiar ministry  
 "prescribed unto him, and the Levites theirs:  
 "the Laymen being left unto lay employments.  
 "Therefore let every one of you my brethren,  
 "in his Ranke and Station, offer to God the  
 "blessed *Eucharist*, with a good Conscience;  
 "keeping within the bounds of his *ministra-*  
 "tion, appointed to him by the *Canon*. (For  
 "so I take it is his meaning) For not in eve-  
 "ry place was it permitted to the Jews to offer  
 "up the daily and perpetuall *sacrifices*; whe-  
 "ther they were sinne offerings, or *Eucharisti-*  
 "call oblations, but at *Hiernsalem* alone, nor  
 "there in any place indifferently, but only in  
 "the *Court* of the Temple, at the *Altar*: the  
 "84.

ἢ μὴ παρα-  
 λαβεῖν τὸν  
 ὁρισμένον τῆς  
 λειτουργίας  
 αὐτῷ κανόνα.  
 p. 53.



"sacrifice being first viewed and approved of,  
 "both by the *High Priest*, and the foresaid *Mi-*  
 "nisters. They that did any thing herein, o-  
 "therwise then agreeable to his will and plea-  
 "sure, were to die the Death: you see, my  
 "brethren, that as we are endued with a grea-  
 "ter knowledge, so are we made obnoxious to  
 "the greater danger. The *Apostles* have  
 "Preached the *Gospel* unto us from *Christ*;  
 "JESUS *Christ* from God: *Christ* being sent  
 "by God, as the *Apostles* were by *Christ*; and  
 "both proceeding orderly therein, according  
 "to his holy will. For having received his  
 "Commands, and being strengthened by the  
 "Resurrection of our Lord JESUS *Christ*, and  
 "confirmed by the word of God, they spread  
 "themselves abroad, in full assurance of the  
 "*holy Ghost*, publishing the coming of the  
 "Kingdome of God: and having Preached  
 "the word throughout many Regions, and se-  
 "verall Cities, they Constituted and ordai-  
 "ned the first fruits of their labours, such  
 "whom in spirit they approved of, to be *Bi-*  
 "shops and *Deacons*, unto those that after-  
 "wards were to believe. Nor was this any  
 "new device, it being written many ages  
 "since in the book of God; *Esay* 60. Καταστήσω  
 "ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτῶν ἑξήκοντα ἄνδρας, καὶ τοὺς διακόνους αὐτῶν  
 "ἐν πίστει, &c. I will appoint them *Bishops* in  
 "righteousnesse, and *Deacons* in Faith. After-  
 "wards laying down the History of *Aaron* the  
 "bud-

"ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ αὐτῶν  
 διακόνους τῶν  
 μαθητῶν πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἑξήκοντα, &c. p.  
 54, 55.  
 "καὶ τὸ τοῦ καὶ  
 πρὸς p. 55.

p. 1d. p. 57.

budding, and thereby the miraculous confirmation of his Election, he addes<sup>p</sup> that the *Apostles* knowing by our Lord *JESUS CHRIST* the contention that would arise *ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ*, about the name or function of *Episcopacy*; (take it which you will) and being for this very cause endued with a perfect foresight of that which afterwards should happen; ordained the aforesaid *Ministers*, and left to every one their appointed offices, that when soever they should die, other approved men should succeed in their severall places, and execute their severall parts in the Ministration. Those therefore which were either ordained by them, or by those famous and renowned men that followed after them, with the consent and approbation of the Church, and have accordingly served unblameably in the fold of *Christ*, with all humility and meeknesse, and kept themselves from basenes and corruption, & have a long time carried a good testimony from all men: those we conceive cannot without much injury be deprived of their place and service: it being no small sinne to reject those men, who holily and without reproofe have undergone the office of *Episcopacy*, or done the duty of a *Bishop*.

III.

So farre the Father hath proceeded, as to the Vindication of *Episcopacy*, or the *Episcopall* function, which you will, from the at-

tempus

tempts and practises of such *Presbyters*, who went about to undermine it, and raise contentions in the Church about it. That which comes after, doth relate to the other *Faction*, the *Faction* raised against the *Presbyters* by some of the unruly people; and that he doth pursue from *ps.* 58. beginning with *Beati sunt Presbyteri*, &c. following the same till *pag.* 70. where he perswades the *Presbyters* that were so distasted, by severall examples both profane and sacred, rather to quit the place for the Churches peace, then by their tarrying there to increase the rupture. Now that by *Bishops* or *Episcopi*, in the words before, he meaneth *Bishops*, truly and properly so called; and doth not use the word in so large a sense, as also to include the *Presbyters*, as some men conceive: doth seem most evident to me, by these reasons following. First, from the *Parallel* here made between the severall degrees and offices in the *Jewish Church*, and those established in the *Christian*: which had been very imperfect and inconsequent, if there had not been those severall and distinct degrees of *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons* in the one, as of the *High-priests*, *Priests*, and *Levites* in the other Church. And that the *Bishops* in the *Christian Church* are called many times *Archieps*, or *High-priests* in the ancient writers, is no new learning unto those that have read the Fathers. And unto this interpretation of the word *E-*

¶ Indication  
of the Answ. *ps.*  
136, 137.  
¶ *Clem.* p. 53.

*piscopi* in that place of *Clemens*, I am the more inclined to stand, as to the true and proper meaning of the Father; because I find the self same *Parallell* produced by *Hierome*, none of the greatest Patrons of *Episcopacy*. Who tells us first, that many of the *Apostolicall Traditions* did take their ground or hint from the old *Testament*, and gives us next this instance of it; or if you will, this resolution in the case: \* *Quod Aaron, & filij ejus atque Levita in Templo fuerunt, hoc sibi Episcopi, Presbyteri atque Diaconi vendicant in Ecclesia*; that such as *Aaron*, and his sonnes, and the Tribe of *Levi*; were in the *Temple*; the same were *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons* in the Church of *G O D*. Where plainly that preheminance which *Aaron* had over and above the *Priests* and *Levites*; the same is given by *Hierome* to the *Bishops*, over their *Presbyters* and *Deacons* respectively. And this is that which is affirmed in the words of *Clemens*; if we mark it well, the *Parallell* being brought in both, for the selfe same end. And this to me appears yet further, to be clear and evident, by the contentions raised by these *Corinthian Presbyters* *ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος, καὶ ἐννομίου* about the name or dignity of *Episcopacy*; the power and priviledges appertaining to that sacred calling; and the discourse thereon occasioned, touching the limiting and restraining of these busie *Presbyters*, unto their proper Rank and Station. For had the hear been only

\* *Hierome ad Enagyrium.*

*Clem. p. 57.*

only raised upon the deposition of their godly *Presbyters*, as by some is said: that had not any way concerned either the name or dignity of *Episcopacy*, (taking *Episcopacy* in that sense as themselves would have it:) that quarrell not being taken up (as they make the case) against the dignity or calling, but the persons only of those *Presbyters*, whom they had deposed.

<sup>a</sup> *Vindic* p. 1 37

## IV.

<sup>a</sup> *Clem. p.* 35.

<sup>a</sup> *Hierom. Comment. in Esa. 6.*  
60.

<sup>a</sup> *Cyrril Alexan. in Esa. l. 5. c. 60.*

But I am most of all confirmed herein by the citation of that text of the Prophet <sup>a</sup> *Esay*, though of a very different reading from those now in use: the application of it being so conforme to that of other ancient writers. Sr. *Hierome* following the translation of the *Septuagint*,<sup>a</sup> doth thus read the text, *Dabo Principes tuos in pace, & Episcopos tuos in iustitia*: observes that in the *Hebrew* it is written thus, *Ponam visitationem tuam pacem, & Præpositos tuos in iustitiam*. And thence infers the admirable Majesty of holy Scripture, *quod principes futuros Ecclesiæ, Episcopos nominavit*, in that the future Governours (or Princes) of the Church are there, before-hand, called *Bishops*, whose *Visitation* is in peace, and the name or Appellation of their office, doth denote their justice. <sup>a</sup> Saint *Cyrril* also, although he differ from our Author in the translation of the text, following therein the *Septuagint*, as Saint *Hierome* did; yet he agreeth with him in his application. For making a comparison between

the Religion of the *Jewes* and *Christians*; likening the one to gold and silver, the other unto brasse and iron; according to the tenor of the words foregoing: he addeth that the *Jewish* Ministers, the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, whom before he spake of, being once removed, *ἵππας αἰσάντων ἀρχιερέων τε καὶ ἱερέων*, *Christ* the Redeemer of all people did raise up other Governours and *Bishops* for them, such as did every way excell in Peace and Righteousnesse. And then he makes this use thereof, for our instruction, <sup>2</sup> That since the Princes or Rulers of the Church doe excell in Peace, and the *Bishops* of the same in Righteousnesse: it ought so farre to work upon the people, *τὸ ἐν αἰνίῃ διακονοῦν καὶ ἰσοβείῃ*, as that they should endeavour to lead their lives in Christian Piety and godlinesse. Here then we have two of the learnedest of the Ancients writing upon the text alledged by *Clemens*; and both expounding it of *Bishops* truly and properly so called, according to the nature of that word in the times they lived: and therefore questionlesse *Clemens* must needs be understood of such *Bishops* also: And herewith you shall have the reason, why *Bishops* and *Deacons* are here joined together, and that there is no mention made of *Presbyters*; not that the *Presbyters* were not ordained by the *Apostles*, aswell as either of the other; but because the *Deacons* in this common broyle did constantly adhere unto their

<sup>2</sup> Id. in *Esaian*  
Tom. 5. c. 160.



their *Bishop*, when as so many of the *Presbyters* were in opposition: or else as \* *Epiphanius* tells us, because that *Bishops* at the first had more use of *Deacons*, then they had of *Presbyters*: for where the Congregation was but small, (as that of \* *Gregorie Thaumaturgus* is said to be, consisting of no more then 17 persons) a *Bishop* onely was sufficient: *Ανὸς δὲ δεσποῦντος ἑκαστοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν*, But being a *Bishop* could not be, or at the least not doe his office, without help of *Deacons*; that *Bishops* and *Deacons* are remembred only. And yet perhaps the meaning of the Author may bee best conceived, certain I am, the doubt or difficulty would be best removed, did we translate *δεσποῦντος*, by the English *Minister*, as in that place I thinke we may; according to the generall meaning of that word in its native sense: the *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, both being but subservient *Ministers* unto the *Bishop* who did allot them out their turnes and stations in the officiating of Gods divine service; the *Presbyters* not having yet assigned them their particular bounds, wherewith to execute the same, as in the time succeeding it is plain they had: of which more hereafter.

In the mean time we must examine whether the Church of *Corinth*, to which *Clemens* writ, had not been settled by the *Apostle* in that form of government, which had been every where established in the neighbour Cities. And certain-

\* *Epiphanius adu. heres.* 75.

\* *Basil de Spiritu Sancto.* c. 29.

V.

<sup>a</sup> Hieron in Titum cap. I. & in Epist ad Euagry.

<sup>b</sup> Baron in Rom. Martyrol. Julii 13.

rainly I can see no reason, why *Corinth* should not have a *Bishop*, as well as *Athens*, or *Philippi*, or the *Thessalonians*, or any other Church of *Greece* or *Macedon*. I see much reason why it should. For if that *Bishops* were first instituted in *Schismatis remedium*; for remedy of Schisme, as Saint *Hierom* saith: assuredly the Church of *Corinth* being first pestered with that foule disease, should first of all, in all congruity, be fitted with the remedy so proper and peculiar to it. A *Bishop* then they were to have by Saint *Hieromes* rule, and that as soon as any other Church what ever: but who this *Bishop* was, is not yet so evident. By *Dorotheus* in *Synopsi*, *Silas*, Saint *Pauls* most individuall companion, is said to be the *Bishop* of this Church, *Corinthiorum constitutus est Episcopus*, as his words there are: wherein <sup>b</sup> *Hippolitus* concurring with him, doth make the matter the more probable. And though I will not take upon me to justifie the reports of *Dorotheus*, where there is any reason to desert him, as there is too often: yet when the point by him delivered doth neither crosse the holy Scripture, nor any of the ancient writers, as in this he doth not; I know not why his word may not passe for currant. Nay if we please to search the Scripture, we may find some hint, for the defence of *Dorotheus* in this one particular. For whereas we find often mention that *Silas* did accompany Saint *Paul* in many

ny of his peregrinations: the last time that we finde him spoke of, is in the 18. of the *Acts*; which time he came unto Saint *Paul*, to *Corinth*. After, there is no mention of him in the book of God: And possibly the reason of it may be this, in brieft, that he was left there by Saint *Paul* to look unto the government of that mighty City. Which when he could not doe by the word and doctrine, Saint *Paul* reserving for a time the jurisdiction to himself, <sup>c</sup> as before was said; and that the factions there did increase and multiply, for want of *Ordinary* power to suppress the same: Saint *Paul* might then invest him with authority, making him *Bishop* of the place, both in power and title. This if it may be counted probable, I desire no more. And then as we have found the first *Bishop* in the Church of *Corinth*, we shall with greater ease and certainty finde out a *second*, though his name were *Primus*: for prooffe of whose being *Bishop* here, we have the testimony of *Egesippus*,<sup>d</sup> who took him, in his journey towards *Rome* and abode long with him; giving him speciall commendation both for his orthodoxie and humanity. After succeeded <sup>e</sup> *Dionysius*, next to him <sup>f</sup> *Nachyllus*; of both which we shall speak hereafter in convenient place.

From the Epistle of this *Clement* unto those of *Corinth*, which is his undoubtedly, proceed we next unto the *Canons* commonly called the

Cc

Apo-

v. 5.

\* V. chap. 4 n 5

<sup>d</sup> Ap. Euseb Hist.  
Ecccl. l. 4. c. 21.  
26.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. c. 24. 25.

<sup>f</sup> Id. lib. 5. c. 21.  
26.

VI.

<sup>a</sup> Bellarm. Baron.  
alii.

<sup>b</sup> Tertull. adver.  
Praxeum.

<sup>c</sup> Binium in no-  
tis ad Can. Apo.

<sup>d</sup> Lib. De Scrip-  
tor. Eccl. in  
Clemente.

<sup>e</sup> Annal. An.  
1628. 17.

*Apostles Canons*, <sup>a</sup> supposed to be collected by him: but so supposed, that still there is a question of it, whether his or not. That they are very ancient is unquestionable, as being mentioned by <sup>b</sup> *Tertullian*, and cited in some of the ancientest Councils, whereof the acts and monuments are now remaining on record. But being it is confessed on all hands, <sup>c</sup> *quosdam ab hereticis corruptos*, that some of them have been corrupted by the Hereticks of old, the better to advance their cause by so great a Patronage: we must be very wary how we build upon them. And howsoever *Bellarmino* <sup>d</sup> be exceeding confident, that the first 50. are most true and genuine, and probably it may so be: yet I conceive it safe to admit them on those sober cautions, which are commended to us by *Baronius*: <sup>e</sup> who on a full debate of the point in question, doth resolve it thus: *Illis tantum nobis ex Apostolicis fontibus, &c.* "Those *Canons* only seem to us; saith he, to be "derived from the *Apostolicall* fountaines, "which have either been admitted and incor- "porated by the Fathers into the *Canons* of "succeeding Councils, or confirmed by the "authority of the Bishops of *Rome*, *aut in* " *communem usum Ecclesiastica disciplina*, or "otherwise have been continually practised in "the *Churches* discipline. The first and last of these three cautions, I conceive to be exceeding sound, and should not stumble at the second

second, had the decrees and ordinances of the ancient *Popes* come incorrupted to our hands. Which ground thus laid, we will now see what the *Apostles Canons* have delivered in the present businesse: and that we shall distribute as it doth relate to *Bishops*, either in point of their Admission, how and by whom they are to be Ordained; or of their carriage and behaviour being once admitted, how farre to disoblige themselves from the employments of the world; or of their Jurisdiction over the inferiour *Clergie*, whom they are to govern. These are the points which are most clearly offered us to be considered of, in the aforesaid Canons, and these we shall present, and then consider of them accordingly.

And first in way of their Admission to that sacred function, it seemeth to be the first care of the *Collector*, that it be done according to the minde and meaning of the holy *Apostles*: and therefore it is put in the very front; viz. that a *Bishop* is not to be ordained, but by three *Bishops*, or by two at the least. *ἡ τριων & δυων τοις δα υνδ ιεροισιν δεσ η χειρ,* as the *Canon* hath it. A *Canon* which hath all the rules and cautions required by *Baronius*, for prooffe of its antiquity; and *Apostolicall* institution: as being confirmed by many of the *Decretalls*, in case they were of any credit; incorporated first into the Canons of the Councell of *Farles*, afterwards in those of *Nice*; and generally

## VII.

\* Canon Apost. 1

\* Concil. Arelat.

Can. 21.

Nicen Ca. 4.

continued in the constant practise and perpetuall usage of the Church. Onely the difference is, that the old *Canon* doth admit of ordinations made by two Bishops, if a third may not conveniently be had; wherea the later Councils stand on three precisely: whereof perhaps this was the reason, because in later times there was a greater number of *Bishops* in the Church of God, then had been before; and so the number of three *Bishops* to concur together, not so hard to meet with. Now they that search into the first occasion of the present *Canon* fetch it from a tradition on record in *Clemens*: viz. that *James* the *Proto-Bishop*, the first that ever had a fixt *Episcopall See*, was ordained Bishop of *Hierusalem*, by *Peter*, *James* and *John* the sonnes of *Zebedee*. *Peter*, saith he, and *James*, and *John* being by our Redeemer most esteemed of, contended not amongst themselves after his ascension, for the highest place, ἀλλ' ἑκάστων τῶν δίδωναι ἑαυτοῖς τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, but rather made choyce of *James* the Just, to be the Bishop of *Hierusalem*. But this, if look'd on well, was no ordination, for *James* being one of the *Apostles* needed no such Ceremony: but onely an agreement made by that goodly fellowship amongst themselves, that whilest the rest did Preach the Gospel in the world abroad, Saint *James* should take the charge of the mother City. The Ordination of Saint *Paul* and

<sup>2</sup> *Philodox. ap. Masonum de Ministr. Anglic. c. 1. c. 5.*

<sup>3</sup> *Clem. Alex. ap. Euseb. l. 2. c. 1.*

<sup>4</sup> *Objected by Philodox. ap. Masonum l. 1. cap. 7.*



*Earnabas* unto the *Apostleship*, by the hands of *Lucius*, *Simeon* and *Manaen*, is indeed more pertinent; but that being an extraordinary case, it can make no precedent. But what need any further pedigree be sought, to raise the reputation of this *Canon*? It is antiquity enough that it stands in front and leads on all the residue of the *Canons*, ascribed of old to the *Apostles*. And yet we must observe withall, that as there is no generall Rule, but hath some exception: so the necessities of the Church have many times dispensed with these ancient *Canons*: the Ordination of *Pelagius* the first, once a Pope of *Rome*, and of *Dioscorus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, being performed by two *Bishops* only, contrary to the Councils of *Nice* and *Arles*; that of *P. Evagrius* Patriarch of *Antiochia*, but by one alone, contrary to the old *Apostolike* Canon. But then we must observe withall, that these exceptions being in extraordinary cases and occasions, are rather a confirmation of the *Canons*, then any diminution to them: according to the good old Rule, *Exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis*.

<sup>a</sup> *Anast.* in vita *Pelagii*.  
<sup>b</sup> *Synodal. Ep. Episcoporum Pontif. ap. Bini*  
 p 173. Tom. 2.  
<sup>c</sup> *Theodo. Hist.*  
 lib. 5. c. 23.

## VIII.

The Bishop being thus admitted to his charge and function, by a peculiar Ordination; we must next see what is prescribed him in these *Canons* touching his behaviour, whether *Domestick* in his family, or publick in the *Commonwealth*. For his *Domestick* carriage, it is ordered thus, *ἡ τοῦ κυρίου οἰκία ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία*,

that he doe not put away his wife, on pain of Excommunication, on any shaddow or pretence of Piety what ever. I know my Masters in the Church of *Rome* would faine shift this off, by saying that there is nothing else required by the present *Canon*,<sup>a</sup> but that they ought to have a care of them, *ipsisque de omnibus que ad vitam honestè degendam requiruntur, provideant*, and to provide them all thing necessary for this present life. But surely *Zonaras*<sup>a</sup> gives a fairer and more likely glosse; by whom it is affirmed, that if a *Bishop*, or any other person in holy orders, (for the *Canon* doth extend to all particularly) should under colour of Religion put away his wife, he  
 “was to be excluded from the Church by this  
 “present *Canon*, till he admirted her againe:  
 “Admirted her again? to what? Assuredly  
 “unto his bed, to cohabitation: Should he  
 “doe otherwise, (saith he) it would redound  
 “to the reproach of Marriage, *ut et adulter*  
 “*the ut adulterum*, as if that conjugall society  
 “did beget uncleanes, whereas the Scripture  
 “saith, that Marriage is honorable, and the bed  
 “undefiled: adding with all *adulterium et fornicationem*, &c. that lawfull wedlock in those  
 “times was left free to *Bishops*, and that it  
 “was restrained first by the Synod in *Trullo*,  
 “many hundreds after. *An. 692*. Which being, so the following *Canon* must admit of some qualification,<sup>b</sup> by which it is decreed, *Korin. 6.*

<sup>a</sup> *Binius in Annot. in Can. 5.*

<sup>a</sup> *Zonar. Com. in an. apo.*

<sup>b</sup> *Can. Apost. 6.*

ορῶντες μὴ ἀναλαμβάνειν, that he doe not take upon him any worldly cares, or secular affaires, be it which it will. For if he was allowed to have wife and children, and consequently was necessitated to maintaine a family; it could not be, but he must needs be subject to some worldly cares, in making fit provision for them: Saint *Paul* determining that, *c If any man provide not for his own, especially for those of his own house, he hath denyed the faith, and is worse then an Infidell.* So that these being not the worldly cares which are intended, as they relate to his domestick carriage in his private family; we must next see how farre it doth extend to those worldly cares, or rather secular affaires, if any shall to choose to read it, which doe concerne him in the publike.

<sup>a</sup> 1 Tim. 5. 8.

## IX.

And here we must first know whether that all intermedling in secular affaires, or worldly matters, be interdicted by this Canon, meerly *quà sales* for themselves; or as they were an *avocation* from the worke of the holy Ministry. Not of themselves, *quà sales*, there's no doubt of that; for then their private and domestick cares must also undergo the same prohibition. It seems then only as an *avocation*, as they diverted *Bishops* and the rest in orders from doing the worke of their vocation. *Zonaras* doth conceive it so. Βλέψτω δὲ Κανὼν τῷ θεῷ ὑποτίσσει σκελεῖν αὐτοῦς, the purpose of the Canon

<sup>a</sup> Zon. Comment.  
in Apost. Can.

CANON

*Canon* is, that they should attend the holy ministry, keeping themselves from all disturbances and the tumultuousnesse of businesse. But then withall we must observe that *Zonaras* alloweth them to take care of *Orphans*, and to administer their estate to the best advantage, which is one secular employment, and no mean one neither. In this the Councell of *Chalcedon*, Can 3. doth agree with *Zonaras*, allowing *Clergymen* to be *Guardians* (as we call it) unto those in *Wardship*. Can. 3. Though the providing for the *Fatherlesse* be a work of mercy; yet the administration of their estates *δικαιον, τῶν ὀρφανῶν*, as it is there called is a worke of businesse: And this allowance is affirmed by *Zonaras*, to be consistent with the *Canon*, which is one thing more; and such a one as will make way for many others. The arbitrating of emergent differences between man and man, for the advancement both of *peace* and *justice*, is a worldly work, a *secular* employment, past all question. May not the *Canon* be perswaded to admit of this, and not to have it laid in barre against the *Bishop*, that he hath left his holy calling and made himself a *Judge* amongst his neighbours? Out of doubt it will: And which is somewhat more, out of doubt it must. Those *Canons* which are only fathered on the *Apostles*, will else run crosse with those which are theirs indeed. When Saint *Paul* <sup>c</sup>lessoned those of

*Corinth*

*Corinth*, that rather then they should prophane the *Gospel* with contentious suits, they should referre their differences to their *Brethren*: thinke you it was his purpose either to exclude the Clergy then, or their *Bishop* after, when they had one? No saith Saint *Ambrose*, (if the work behis) '*Melius dicit apud dei ministros causam agere*, no better way then to referre the businesse to Gods *Ministers*, who being guided by the feare of God, will determine rightly in the same. Or is the *Bishop* only to be barred this Office? Not so, saith he. For if Saint *Paul* adviseth them to submit themselves unto the judgement of their *Brethren*, it was upon this reason principally, *quia adhuc Rector in eorum Ecclesia non esset ordinatus*, because, as then, there was no *Bishop* in that Church. Saint *Austin* gives it more exactly, makes it a charge imposed upon the *Bishop* by Saint *Pauls* command. For speaking of the pains he took in the determining of such causes as were brought before him, he tels us, that he underwent the same, in obedience only to Saint *Pauls* injunction, *quibus nos molestis idem affixit Apostolus*, as his words there are; and that Saint *Paul* imposed it not by his own authority, *sed ejus qui in eo loquebatur*, but by the authority of the Holy Ghost which did dictate to him: adding withall, that howsoever it was irksome and laborious to him, yet he did patiently discharge his duty in it *pro spe*  
Dd ater-

¶ *Ambros. Com.*  
in 1 ad Cor. c. 6.

¶ *August. de O-*  
*pere Monach.*  
c. 29.

*eterna vite*, only upon the hope of life eternall. And it is worth the observation, that venerable *Beda*, making a Comment upon Saint *Pauls* Epistle, collected out of severall passages of Saint *Austins* writings; he putteth down this place at large, as the most full and proper exposition of the *Apostles* words, *Secularia iudicia si habueritis, &c.* 1 Cor. 6. 4. *If then ye have judgements of things partayning to this life, &c.* Here then we have the *Bishop* interessed in the determining of suits and differences, a secular employment surely: and yet no violence offered to the sacred Canon. May he not goe a little further, and intermedle, if occasion be, in maters of the Common wealth? *ἢ οὐ κατὰ δυνάμει τῶν ἐπισκόπων τὰς ἐν τοῖς κοινῶν.* I doe not blame those *Bishops*, saith *Synesius*, that are so employed: such as are fitted with abilities for the undertaking, being by him (a strict and rigorous man) permitted to employ the same. And more then so, *τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μὲν ὅμιλος ἐστίν*, it maketh for Gods praise and glory that it should be so: that men, on whom he hath bestowed abilities to performe both Offices, should doe accordingly. But these I put down here, as opinions only: the practice of them we shall see in a place more proper. If then it be demanded what those *οὐκ ἐκκλησιαστικὰς*, those Worldly cares, and Secular imployments are, which the Canon speakes off: *Zonaras* will informe us in another place, that the Canon

<sup>a</sup> *Synesius in Ep.*  
57.

<sup>i</sup> *Zonaras. Comment. in Conc. Chalced. Can. 3*



non aimeth at the mingling of the *Roman Magistracies* τῶν Ρωμαίων ἀρχῶν, with the *Episcopall* or *Priestly* function, which at that time were, questionlesse, incompatible. And then the meaning of the Canon will in fine be this, that *Bishops* or inferiour *Clergymen*, might not be *Consuls*, *Prators*, *Generalls*, or undergoe such publick Offices in the State of *Rome*, as were most sought for and esteemed by the *Gentiles* there.

X.

As for their Jurisdiction over the inferiour *Clergie*, as farre as it is warranted by these *Apostolike canons*; it doth consist especially in these particulars. First, there is granted and annexed unto them, the power of *Ordination*, and to them alone. The second Canon tells

1 Can. Apost. 2.

us so, κ Πρεσβύτερος ὁ ἓν ἐνὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ χειροτονῶν, the *Presbyter* and *Deacon*, and all other *Clerks* must be ordained by one *Bishop*. And if a *Bishop* be required, though but one in all, the *Presbyters* have no authority at all, of conferring *Orders*. But of this before: Being ordained, they were accomptable in the next place to their *Bishop*, in all things which concerned their Ministration: without whose speciall leave and liking, there were not onely many things which they might not doe; but there was nothing in a manner to be done, ἵνα μὴ ἐν

1 Can. 38.

τελειήτωσιν, let them doe nothing, saith the Canon, without the knowledge of the *Bishop*; neither Baptize, nor celebrate the *Eucharist*, as

<sup>m</sup> Ignat. ad  
Smyrnenf. <sup>1</sup>  
<sup>n</sup> Zonar. in Can.  
Apost.

<sup>o</sup> Can. 31.

<sup>q</sup> Can. 12.

<sup>r</sup> Can. 15.

<sup>m</sup> Ignatius hath it, of whō more anon; <sup>μη αποειζεν</sup> not repell any man from the Communion, as it is in Zonaras. But heare the Canons speaking in another place, they will tell you more particularly, that if a *Presbyter* neglecting or contemning his own *Bishop*, <sup>ο</sup> shall gather the people into a Conventicle, <sup>η</sup> <sup>θυσιαστειον</sup> <sup>ετερον</sup> <sup>αγειν</sup> and erect another *Altar* for divine worship, not being able to convict his *Bishop* of any impiety or injustice; he is to be deposed, <sup>απει-  
αρχε</sup> as an ambitious person, seeking a pre-  
heminence that belonged not to him. Finally so obnoxious were the *Presbyters* to the command and pleasure of their *Bishop*, that they could not be admitted into any other City <sup>π</sup> <sup>αυτου</sup> <sup>γραμματα</sup> <sup>οικουμενικων</sup>, without his letters testimoniall; and this on pain of Excommunicaswell unto the *Presbyter* that should so depart, as to the party that received him. If any *Presbyter* <sup>q</sup> or *Deacon*, leaving the charge appointed to him; shall goe into another *Diocese* (for so I think <sup>Παροικία</sup> must be read in this place and time) and there abide, without the allowance of his *Bishop*, <sup>τῶτον</sup> <sup>καλεούμεν</sup> <sup>μικρῇ</sup> <sup>λειτουργίᾳ</sup> he is to be suspended *ab officio*, especially if he return not presently on the *Bishops* summons. More of this kinde there is in those ancient *Canons*, touching the *Presbyters* dependence on, and plain subjection to their *Bishop*. But I have instanced in such only, as may be cleerly justified by succeeding practise: And so

so much of the Apostles *Canons*, ascribed to *Clemens*.

From *Clemens*, on to *Evaristus*, his next successor in the government of the Church of *Rome*. I know the Antiquaries of that Church have interloped an *Anacletus* between these two; and let them take him for their labour. But when I finde in *Irenaeus*, who lived so neer the times we speak of as to converse with those which were then alive, when both these Bishops sate in the Church of *Rome*; and when I finde it in *Eusebius*, who with such care and diligence collected the successions of the Prelates in the greater Churches; that *Evaristus* did immediately succeed this *Clemens*: I shall desire to be excused if I prefer their testimony in this case, before that of *Anastasius*, or the *Pontificall*, or *Platina*, or any whosoever of the later daies. Now of this *Evaristus* it is said by *Damasus* in the *Pontificall*, and from him by *Platina*, *titulus in urbe Romae Presbyteris divisisse*, that he did first assigne the *Presbyters* in *Rome* their particular charges: which also is affirmed by *Rob. Barnes*, one of the great Agents in our Reformation; which words of the Historians being short and dark, we will expound in the expressions of judicious *Hooker* thus, as followeth. \* For more convenient discharge  
 “ of *Ecclesiasticall* duties, as the body of peo-  
 “ ple must needs be severed by divers pre-  
 “ cincts so were the *Clergie* likewise accor-  
 Dd 3 “dingly

## XI.

*Iren. l. 3. cap. 3.*

*Euseb. hist. Ec.  
l. 3. c. 28. 2d.*

*In vita Evarist.*

*De vitis Pont.  
Rom. in Eva-  
risto.*

*Hooker Eccles.  
Polit. l. 5. n. 80.*

“dingly distributed. Whereas therefore  
 “Religion did first take place in Cities, and in  
 “that respect was a cause why the name of *Pa-*  
 “*gans*, which properly signifieth country peo-  
 “ple, came to be used in common speech for  
 “the same that *Infidels* and *unbelievers* were,  
 “it followed thereupon that all such Cities had  
 “their Ecclesiasticall Colleges consisting of  
 “*Presbyters* and *Deacons*, whom first the *A-*  
 “*postles* or their Delegates the *Evangelists*, did  
 “both ordain and govern: such were the Col-  
 “leges of *Hierusalem*, *Antioch*, *Ephesus*, *Rome*,  
 “*Corinth*, and the rest, where the *Apostles* are  
 “known to have planted our Faith and Reli-  
 “gion. Now because Religion and the Cure  
 “of soules was their generall charge in com-  
 “mon over all that were neer about them, nei-  
 “ther had any one *Presbyter* his severall Cure a  
 “part, till *Evaristus* Bishop in the See of *Rome*  
 “about the year 112. began to assigne Pre-  
 “cincts unto every Church, or *Title*, which the  
 “Christians held, and to appoint unto each  
 “*Presbyter* a certain compasse, whereof him-  
 “selfe should take charge alone; the commo-  
 “diouse of which invention caused all  
 “parts of Christendome to follow it: So hee.  
 And he saith well that *Evaristus* first began it;  
 but it was shortly after followed by *Higinus*  
 also, who added more divisions to the former  
 number, if I do understand my author rightly.  
 As for the following of this pattern by other  
 Churches,

Churches, tis most true indeed, that this invention of his was after followed in the Churches of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*: whereof see *Socrates Hist. Eccles. l. 5. 3.* for that of *Antioch*; and for the other *Epiphanius*, who reckoneth *nominatim* those severall Churches, which were before the time of *Constantine* in that famous City. And doubtlesse in all other Cities as the number of *Christians* did increase, so were the like divisions made, and severall *Presbyters* appointed for those divisions; though we have no such pregnant evidence thereof, as for those before. But then we must observe withall, that such divisions were not in the Country till a long time after; as we shall let you see in due place and time.

As for those Colleges of *Presbyters* and *Deacons* whereof *Hooker* speaketh, founded by the *Apostles* and *Evangelists* in all the Cities wherein they planted the Gospel of *Christ*; and by them conjoynd into one Church under and with the *Bishop*: it was a very excellent and usefull institution, as the times then were. For first it did exceedingly promote the conversion of the world to *Christ our Saviour*: it being a worke too great for one or two to undertake in a populous City; and would require more time to effect the same, then such a weighty businessse could afford. The *harvest* being great, it was most expedient, that the *labourers* should also bee many: that

## XII.

<sup>a</sup> *Bilson. perpet. governm. ca. 14.*

that so the truth of *Christ* might disperse it self not onely throughout their Cities, but even unto those Country Townes and Villages, which bordered neer them. A second use, was to continue those whom they had converted, in the Faith of *Christ*, instructing and encouraging the faithfull from house to house, and from man to man, to stand fast to the Doctrine which they had received, and not to shrink under the bloody storms of persecution, which were then so frequent. A worke that of necessity required many hands; the more, because the faithfull in those dangerous times, had not their publike places of assembly; or if they had, durst not frequent the same as in times of peace: and so the labour must be great, and the persons many, in Preaching, Teaching, and exhorting in their private houses, or in those secret places where they met by stealth, for the receiving of the Sacrament. A third use was, that from these *Presbyteries*, or Colleges of *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, as from a sacred spring or fountaine, there might bee a continuall supply of fit and able men, by whom aswell the Cities themselves might bee continually furnished for their own occasions; and also that from thence, the smaller Towns and Villages within the circuit of those Cities, which for the slenderesse of their estate, and paucity of believers, could not maintain a *Presbyter* at their proper charge, might be provided



ded of industrious teachers for their spirituall necessities. For in these times whereof wee speak, and a long time after, the Villages and Country Townes as they were converted to the Faith, and did desire a Minister of the Word and Sacraments to reside amongst them; so they repaired unto the *Bishop* of the City, within whose *μενία* or bounds they were, of him desiring a fit man for that businesse: which course continued in the Church for a long time after, untill Churches were endowed with *Tithes*, and Glebe, and Mansion houses, which drew the Patronage or Presentation, as we call it, into hands of such their Founders, and liberall Benefactors to the same. The last, but not the least, was the advising and assisting of the *Bishop* of the Church or City in all doubts and dangers: as well in making Rules and ordinances for the better government of the place; as for the censuring and correcting of such faulty persons, whether of the *Clergie* or *Laity*, as were thought fit to be convented, for an example to the rest. In which regard \**Ignatius* calleth the *Presbyterie*, or College of Presbyters (and not the *Priesthood*, *Sacerdotium*, as it is rendred by *Vedelius*) τὸ συνέχον ἱερεῖν, σύμβουλοι καὶ συνεπιτελεῖν τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, an holy Corporation. Counsellors and Assessors to the *Bishop*. A perfect Image of the which, we have remaining in our *Deanes* and *Chapters* of *Cathedrall Churches*: though not so frequently

\* *Ignatius* in  
Ep. ad Trallign.

quently consulted with in the Churches busi-  
ness, as I could heartily desire they were;  
and as our *Canons* now in force in some sort re-  
quire.

## XIII.

The mention which I made so lately of *Ignatius*, leads me on to him; who yeelded up his pious Soule, by Martyrdome, to the hands of God, in the City of *Rome*, whilst *Enaristus* was there Bishop: And in him I shall onely touch upon those Epistles, which I finde mentioned in *Eusebius*; and which *Vedelius* doth confesse, and defend to boot, to be truly his: But by the way I must first tell you, that *Vedelius* in this businesse deals for all the world like the naughty Cow, that gives a good meales milke and kicketh it down with her heel. For having shewed some pains and learning in his *Apologie* for *Ignatius*, in vindicating these Epistles from all those who except against them: yet in the body of the text, when ever he doth meet with any thing, which runneth crosse unto his fancies; that he excepts against himself, as suppositious and adulterate; or else destroyeth a good text with a faulty Comment. But let us take the Author as he gives him to us.

*Ἐπὶ ἱερωνύμῳ ὑμναστικῶς αὐτῷ τῷ σωτῆρι.* Be subject to the Bishop (saith the good Father) as unto the Lord: and to the Presbyters as to *Christs Apostles*. *Vedelius* hereupon observes, that the Presbyters are the proper successors of the Apostles, contrary unto that of

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l.

<sup>b</sup> In Apolog. pro Ignatio.

<sup>c</sup> Ignat. ad Tval.

<sup>d</sup> Vedel. Annotat in Ep. ad Tvalian. c. 3.

*Bellarmino*, who makes them, (as he saith) to succeed the *seventy*. In which *Vedelius* doth the *Bishops* a farre greater curtesie, then I believe he did intend them: making the disproportion more considerable between the *Bishop* and his *Presbyters*, then any Champion of the *Prelacy* had done before him. For if *Vedelius* may inferre from our Authors words, that the *Presbyters* are successors unto the *Apostles*; we may aswell inferre from the selfe same grounds, that *Bishops* are the successors of *Christ* our Saviour. The like obedience to the *Bishop*, he presseth in another place of the same Epistle. *Αἰνεῖτε τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν, ὡς Χριστὸν*. Reverence your *Bishop*, as you would doe *Christ*, as the *Apostles* have commanded. And then he gives this reason of it, *Τὸ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐπίσκοπος*; for what else is the *Bishop*, but one superior unto all in place & power? what else the *Presbyterie*, but an holy company, the Counsellors and Assessors of the *Bishop*? In which we have as great a difference betwixt a *Bishop* and his *Presbyters*, as is between a Prince and his Privy Counsell. In that to the *Magnesians* thus; *Πάτριον*, &c. It becomes you to obey your *Bishop*, not being refractory against him in any thing: for a most terrible thing it is to contradict him and oppose him, in that the contumely or reproach doth redound to God. In his third Epistle, that to the *Philadelphians*, he writeth thus. *Καὶ οὐ μὲν*

\* *Ignat. ibid.*

\* *Id. ad Magn.*

\* *Id. ad Philad.*

<sup>b</sup> Id. ad Smyrn.

<sup>i</sup> Vedel. in marg.  
Epl. ad Philad.

<sup>b</sup> Id. in Exercit.  
n Ep. ad Smyr.  
nens cap. 18.

<sup>i</sup> Ignat. Ep. ad  
Smyrnen.

is *ispeis* the *Priests* are good, and so are the *Deacons*, as being Ministers of the word; but better, or more excellent is the *chiefe Priest*, as being onely trusted with the holy of holies, and the secrets of God. The like occurs in that to those of <sup>b</sup> *Smyrna*; *Τίμα μὲν τὸν Θεόν, &c.* Honour God as the Author and Lord of all things, and your *Bishop* as the *chiefe Priest*, bearing the image of God; that is to say, of God as he is chiefe, and of *Christ* as *Priest*. And though *Vedelius* brands this last as suppositious, and in the former by chiefe Priest <sup>k</sup> will have our Saviour meant, and not the *Bishop*: yet he that looks upon the place without prejudice, will easily discern the contrary; the comparison which there *Ignatius* maketh, being between the Ministers of the Church with one another, and not between the *Ministers* and the *Master*, betwixt them and *Christ*, with whom it were both impious and absurd to make comparisons. It were an endlesse peece of work to instance in all those severall places, wherein the superiority of *Bishops* over all the flock, is pleaded and declared by this blessed Martyr. I therefore shut up all with this Conclusion, *ὅς λαὸς τοῖς διακόναις*, Let the lay people be subject to the *Deacons*, the *Deacons* to the *Presbyters*, the *Presbyters* unto the *Bishop*, and the *Bishop* unto *Christ*, as he to his *Father*: An heavenly and divine subordination. Not one of all the ancient Fathers, that

that speaks more clearly and distinctly of the Degrees and Orders in the *Hierarchy*, then this blessed *Martyr*; assigning unto every one his due place and station. If in one place, he calls the *Presbyters* by the name of *Bishops*, as writing unto *Hero*, one of the *Deacons* of the Church of *Antioch* it is plaine he doth: it was at such time and on such occasion, when he himselve being the *Bishop* of that place was ravished from them; and the chief government thereof was to them committed, (as in the times of vacancie or absence it hath since been done) which gave them the authority of *Bishops*, though not the order.

For point of Jurisdiction next, he gives us first this charge in generall. It is expedient, saith he, that whatsoever things you doe, *ἀλλὰ τὸ ἱμακοῦντες μὴ σὺν ἀρχιεπίσκοπῳ*, doe it not without your *Bishop*: that is to say, as he expounds himself in another place, *πάντες τῶν ἀντιόχεια ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, nothing that appertains unto the Church, or concerns Religion. And this he grounds on the obedience of our Saviour *Christ*, *ὅτι ἀλλὰ τὸ πατρί: ὃς δὲν ποιεῖ*, who doth not anything without his Father: resolving finally, that they who give unto their governour the name of *Bishop*, *ἡ χολὴ δὲ ἀντὶ πατρὸς ποιεῖ*, and yet doe what they list without him; doe in effect, as those did unto *Christ* our Saviour, who said unto him *Lord, Lord*, and yet did nothing which he said. As for particulars, he

## XIV.

Id ad Smyrn.

Id ad Magnes.

Id. ibid.

<sup>1</sup> Id. in Epist. ad Polycar.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ad Smyrn.

<sup>3</sup> Tertull. lib. de Baptismo.

<sup>4</sup> Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrnens.

would have those which *marry*, or *are given in marriage*, <sup>1</sup> κατὰ γυναικας τῷ ἱερέϊ, to take the *Bishop* along with them; that so their marriage may be made according unto Gods commandement, and not for wantonnesse. The *Eucharist* he would not have performed but by the *Bishop*; either by him in person, or by his authority; nor *Baptisme* to bee administred without his licence and permission. This last expressly in his 4. *Epistle*, being that unto the Church of *Smyrna*. It is not lawfull without the *Bishop*, ἢ τοῦ ἐπισκοπικοῦ, ἢ τοῦ κληρικου, ἢ τοῦ λαϊκοῦ, either to *Baptize*, or present Oblations, or celebrate the sacrifice of the blessed *Eucharist*, or solemnize the love feasts; but all things to be done agreeably unto his direction, according to the will and pleasure of Almighty God. In which as to the Sacrament of Baptisme, <sup>2</sup> *Tertullian* also doth concur; as we shall see hereafter in its proper place: And for the celebrating of the *Eucharist* by himselfe in person, and the assembling of the people upon his appointment, the same good Father gives it <sup>3</sup> thus. <sup>4</sup> Ἐκείνη ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐν ἡμεῖς ἵσταται. Let that administration of the *Eucharist* be held good and valid, which is done by the *Bishop*, or such as as he permits to do it. And where the *Bishop* shall appeare, there let the Congregation be assembled; as where *Christ* is, there all the hoasts of Heaven doe stand round about him. Those that assemble otherwise



wise then thus, and doe not take the *Bishop* with them in these sacred actions, are by him said, "to break the concord of the *Church*, and destroy her order; and consequently are worthy of a greater punishment, then he ὁ βασιλευ-  
σιν ἰσχυροίμεθα, which doth rebell against his King. Never did advocate for his fee pleade a cause more throughly. So throughly, that I dare take up the Conclusion of that blessed *Martyr*: Ἀντιφύχῃς ἕνα τῶν φυλακτῶν ταντῶν τῶν ὑπαξίας. My soule for theirs who carefully observe this order, and keepe them selves unto the Rules which are here prescribed.

Now that which by *Ignatius* is layd down before us, as to the ministration of the Sacrament, by the *Bishop*, in way of *observation* or *direction*; the same we finde in *Justin Martyr*, who lived about the middle of this second *Century*; exemplified and represented in the way of *practise*.<sup>1</sup> For shewing how a Convert was to be admitted in the *Congregation*, and that he was received with Common Prayers both for himsele, and for the holy *Catholick Church*, he doth thus proceed. Πανσήμεροι τῶν ἰυχῶν, Prayers being done, we salute one another with an holy kisse. Then doe we offer "Bread and Wine mixt with Water, τῷ Πρεσβυ-  
"τῇ τῶν ἀδελφῶν to the *President* or *Ruler* of the  
"brethren; which he receiving, presenteth  
"to the Father of all, by the name of the Son  
"and

<sup>1</sup> Id. ibid. paulo  
post.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ad Tarsenf.

XV.

<sup>1</sup> Justin Mart. in  
Apolog. 2.

“and holy Ghost, the sacrifice of prayle and  
 “glory, rendring immortall thanks unto him  
 “in that he hath vouchsafed those his gifts un-  
 “to us: who having offered this oblation of  
 “prayer and thanksgiving, the Congregation  
 “on present say Amen. The *President* or  
 “Προεδρος having done his part, in celebrating  
 “of the *Eucharist*, and the people crowning  
 “his performance with their best devotions,  
 “οἱ καλούμενοι τὰς ἡμῶν διάκονοι, those who by us are  
 “called *Ministers* or *Deacons* (for both these  
 “words the *Latine* useth) distribute unto eve-  
 “ry one there present a portion of the blessed  
 “bread and wine mixt with water, that he may  
 “communicate thereof; and also carry part  
 “thereof unto such as are absent. Which ali-  
 “ment (being thus consecrated and received)  
 “we call the *Eucharist*, and is delivered unto  
 “none, but such as do believe our doctrine, &  
 “have been washed in the laver of Regenera-  
 “tion. And not long after, making a descrip-  
 “tion of their assemblies on the *Sunday*, he first  
 “relates that the Commentaries of the *Apostles*  
 “and writings of the *Prophets*, as much as the  
 “time will suffer, are read before them.  
 “Then addeth, that the *Reader* having done, ὁ  
 “Προεδρος διὰ λόγου τὴν ταπεινίαν, &c. the *President*  
 “or Προεδρος makes a *Sermon*, wherein he doth  
 “instruct the people in the performance of  
 “those excellent things, which are contai-  
 “ned in the same. Which done we all arise,  
 “and

“and make our praiers unto the Lord, and then  
 “the bread and wine and water, as before, is  
 offered: the *Presbiter* proceeding to the *Eucharist*,  
 according to the manner formerly described.  
 Here then we have the celebration of the *Eucharist*, and the Preaching of Gods holy word,  
 performed ordinarily by the *Presbiter* or *President*  
 of the Congregation: but what this *Presbiter*  
 should be, is the point in question. For  
 resolution of which doubt, it is cleare and evi-  
 dent, that by *Presbiter* anciently was meant the  
*Bishop*, as may appear by that of *Eusebius*, call-  
 ing *Publius* bishop of *Athens*: by this name τὸ  
*Πρεσβύτερον αὐτῶν Πύπλιον*, as he styles him there;  
 and so in other places and in other Writers.  
 Nor doe I finde that it was any way applied to  
 inferiour *Presbyters*, till after the division of  
 the Church into severall *Parishes*, not in some  
*Cities* onely, but in all parts else: after which  
 times the *Presbyters* or *Ministers* of *Parochiall*  
 Churches having cure of Soules, by and from  
 the Bishop, and having got the name of *Re-  
 ctors*; came to be called in some writers *Presbiter*  
 also, as wee shall see hereafter in its proper  
 place. But what need any of the ancients  
 come in for evidence, when as the matter is  
 confessed by those, who were the greatest ad-  
 versaries of *Episcopacy*? For *Beza* making  
*Timothy*, whom we have proved sufficiently to  
 have been a *Bishop*, to be the *President* or *Presbiter*  
 of the *Ephesine* *Presbyterie*; and such a *Pres-*

<sup>1</sup> *Euseb. hist. Ec.*  
*l. 4. c. 22. κγ.*

<sup>a</sup> Bera Annot.  
in Tim. 5. 19.

<sup>b</sup> Cited by B.  
Downham in his  
defence, l. 4. c. 1.  
sect. 17.

dent or *Πρεσβυ*, as *Justinus vocat*, as *Justin Martyr* speaks of in the present place: it must needs be, that *Justin Martyr's* President or *Πρεσβυ* was a *Bishop* also, as *Timothy* is proved to be. Which if it be not cleer enough, we have a second that speaks plainer, and he the greatest Chapion of the adverse party, which had the honour to be bred in the Church of *England*; *Cartwright* I mean, <sup>b</sup> who tels us, with great grieve no question, that even in *Justins* time there began to peepe out something, which went from the simplicity of the Gospel, as that the name of *Πρεσβυ*, which was common to the Elders with the Ministers of the word, was it seemeth appropriated unto one. So that by the confession of the Adversaries to *Episcopall* government we have gained thus much, that the administration of the Sacrament of the blessed *Eucharist*, did properly and in chiefe belong unto the *Bishop*, as was affirmed by *Ignatius*, and proved in point of practice out of *Justin Martyr*. And so much for the first halfe of the second Century; what is presented to us in the other halfe, we are next to see.



## CHAP. II.

The settling of *Episcopacie* together with the *Gospell*, in the Isle of *Britaine*, by Pope *Eleutherius*.

I. *What Bishops Egesippus met within his Peregrination; and what he testifieth of them.*

II. *of Dionysius B. of Corinth; and of the Bishops by him mentioned.*

III. *How Bishops came to be ordained, where none were left by the Apostles.*

IV. *The settling of the Gospell in the Isle of Britaine by Pope Eleutherius.*

V. *Of the Condition of the Church of Britain from the first preaching of the Gospell there, till the time of Lucius.*

VI. *That Lucius was a King in those parts of Britaine which we now call England.*

VII. *Of the Episcopall Sees here founded by King Lucius at that time.*

VIII. *Touching the Flamines and Arch-flamines, which those stories speak of.*

IX. *What is most like to be the reason of the*

number of the Archbishopricks and Bishopricks here, of old established.

X. Of the Successors, which the Bishops of this Ordination are found to have on true record.

XI. Which of the British Metropolitans was anciently the Primate of that Nation.

I.



Mongst those severall writers of the *Primitive* times, out of whose workes *Eusebius* collected his materials, for the composing of the Ecclesiasticall History, which we still enjoy : one of the

ancientest was *Egesippus*, one that took great paines in the selfe same kinde. Five books he writ, as both *Eusebius* and Saint *Hierome* tell us, touching the *Acts* and *Monuments* of the Church of God: this last affirming of the work, that it contained many things, *ad utilitatem legentium pertinentia*, exceeding profitable to the Reader; though written in a plain and familiar stile. Some fragments of his cited by *Eusebius*, we have seen before; the body of his workes being eaten by the teeth of time: and one we are to looke on now, being the remainder of a most accurate and full confession of his Faith, which he left behinde him.<sup>c</sup> There he relates, *αὐτὸς πάλαις ἱστορίαις συμμιξέναι*, that in a journey towards

Rome

<sup>a</sup> *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. 21. 26.*

<sup>b</sup> *De scriptor. Eccles.*

<sup>c</sup> *Euseb. ut supra.*



*Rome*, he did conferre with many Bishops; and that he found amongst them all the same form of Doctrine: there being no City where he came, no Episcopall succession, wherein he found not all things so confirmed and settled, as they were prescribed by the word, taught by the Prophets, and Preached by our Lord and Saviour. Particularly he tels us of the Church of *Corinth*, in τῇ ὀρθῇ λόγῳ, that it continued constantly in the Orthodox Faith, till the time that *Primus* was there Bishop: with whom he had much conference, as he sailed towards *Rome*, staying with him many dayes at *Corinth*, and being much delighted with his conversation. Of *Rome* he only doth inform us, that he abode there till the time of *Anicetus*, whose Deacon *Eleutherus* at that time was; who not long after did succeed in his Pastours chaire: *Soter* succeeding *Anicetus*; *Eleutherus* succeeding *Soter*. Where by the way, I wonder how Saint \* *Hierom* came to place the comming of *Egesippus* unto *Rome*, sub *Aniceto*, when *Anicetus* was there Bishop; considering that *Egesippus* tels us he was there before; and that he there continued μέχρι Ανικητου, untill the time of *Anicetus*, as before was said. Discourfing of the errours of the Jewes his Countrymen, he sheweth that after *James* the Just was martyred in defence of *Christs* truth and Gospell; *Simeon* the sonne of *Cleophas* and Uncle to our Saviour, was erected Bishop: all

\* De vitis ill. in  
Egesip.

the *Disciples* giving their voices unto him, as being of their Masters kindred: He addeth that *Hierusalem* (whereof he speaketh) was called for long time, the *Virgin Church*; as being undefiled with the filth of *Heresies*: and that *Thebulis* was the first who broached strange Doctrine in the same; the man being discontented, as it seemed, διὰ τὸ μὴ γινῆαι ἐπίσκοπον, because he was not made a *Bishop*. So farre the peeces of this Journall, or *Itinerarie* direct us in this present search, as to discern how strong a bulwarke the *Episcopall* succession hath been, and been accounted also, of Gods sacred truths; how strong a pillar for support of that blessed building.

## II.

At the same time with *Egesippus* lived *Dionysius*, the learned and renowned Bishop of the Church of *Corinth*, successor to that *Primus* whom before we spake of. A man, as both <sup>d</sup> *Eusebius* and Saint <sup>e</sup> *Hierom* say, of such both industry and eloquence, *ut non solum suae Civitatis & Provinciae populos*, that he instructed not alone by his Epistles the people of his owne City and Province, but also those of other Churches. One writ he, saith *Eusebius*, to the *Lacedemonians*, at once confirming them in faith and love: another unto the *Athenians*, about the time that *Publius*, their Bishop, suffered martyrdom; exhorting them to live according to the prescript of *Christs* holy Gospel. In that Epistle he makes mention of

<sup>d</sup> Euseb. eccles.  
hist. l. 4. c. 22. & 27  
<sup>e</sup> De scriptor. ecc.

*Quadratus* also, who succeeded *Publius* in that charge; declaring also, that *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* being converted by *S. Paul*, was made the first *Bishop* of that *City*. Of which three *Bishops* of *Athens*, *Quadratus* is much celebrated by \**Eusebius* for an Apologie by him written, and rendred unto *Adrian* the Emperour, in the behalfe of *Christians*; being the first peece of that kinde that was ever written in the world: and written, as it seemes, with such power and efficacy, \* that shortly after *Adrian* desisted from his persecuting of the Church of God, making a law or edict for their future safety. But to goe on with *Dionysius*. A third he writ unto the *Nicomeditans*, opposing in the same the heresies of *Marcion*: a fourth unto the *Gortinaens*, in which he much commended their *Bishop Philip*, in that the Church committed to his care and governance *αλκίσις ἀνδραγαθίας*, had been made famous by so many trials both for faith and constancy. He writ unto the Church of *Amastris* also, and the rest in *Pontus*; speaking by name of *Palmas*, the *Bishop* there: as also to the Church of *Gnosus*, in the Isle of *Crete*; in which he did perswade *Pintus*, *Bishop* of the same, μὴ βαρὺ ὀφλίων ἐπιτάγματος τὸ μέγιστον αἰσχρὸν ἐπιβάλλον, not to impose that grievous yoke of chastity upon his brethren, as a matter necessary; but to consult rather the infirmity and weaknesse of them. Finally, there was extant in *Eusebius* time another Epistle of this

\* *Euseb. l. 4 c. 3.*\* *Id ibid. c. 9.*

this *Dionysius*, to the Church of *Rome*; wherein he magnifieth their abundant charity towards all the Brethren which were in want or persecution, not onely of their owne, but of other Cities: highly commending *Soter*, who was then their *Bishop*, who did not onely study to preserve them in so good a way, *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡνέκεν*, but also did encourage them to improve their bounties. So much remaines of *Dionysius* and his publick Acts: by which we may perceive, that though the *Bishops* of those times (as since) had their particular *Sees* and *Cities*, yet did their care extend unto others also; maintaining a continuall *intercourse* betwixt one another, not onely for their mutuall comfort in those dangerous times, but also for the better government of the Church it selfe; the unity whereof was then best preserved by that *correspondence* which the *Bishops*, in the name of their severall Churches, had with one another. For other *Bishops* of those times, not to say any thing of *Melito* or *Polycarpus*, whom before we spake of; nor of the *Bishops* of the foure *Patriarchall Sees*, which we shall have occasion to remember shortly: those of most fame were *Papian* and *Apollinarius*, *Bishops* successively of *Hierapolis* a City of *Phrygia*; *Pothinus* *Bishop* of *Lyons* in *France*; *Theophilus* *Bishop* of *Cæsarea*; *Cassius* *Bishop* of *Tyre*; *Clarius* *Bishop* of *Ptolomais*, all three in *Palestine*; *Publius Julius* *Bishop* of *Debelto* a Colony in *Thrace*;

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. hist. l. 3. c. 23. 29.

<sup>b</sup> Id. l. 4. c. 23. 27.

<sup>c</sup> Id. l. 5. c. 6. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Id. c. 21. 26.

<sup>e</sup> Id. c. 25. 27.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. c. 18. 19.

*Thrace* with many others of great eminency; whereof consult *Euseb. Hist Eccles.* 5. c. 18. 19. & cap. 21. 26.

By this that hath been said of *Dionysius*, and other Bishops of his time, it is cleer and evident, that Bishops had been settled (even in those early dayes) in many Cities, wherein we doe not finde that any had been formerly ordained by the *Apostles*. But how they were so settled, and by whose authority, hath in these later daies been made a question. Our Masters in the Church of *Rome*, appropriate the power of instituting and erecting new *Episcopall* Sees, to their *Bishop* only, as being the only, universall and supream *Pastor* of the Church. *Bellarmine* hath resolved it so, in terms expresse. *Apostolorum proprium erat*, It properly appertained (saith he) to the *Apostles* to constitute Churches, and propagate the *Gospel* in those Churches wherein it never had been Preached. So farre unquestionably true, but what followeth after? *Et hoc ad Romanum Pontificem pertinere, & ratio & experientia ipsa nos docet*, And that this doth belong to the Popes of *Rome*, both reason and experience teach us. Belong it doth indeed to the Popes of *Rome*, so farre we dare joyn issue with him: but that it doth belong to the Pope alone, and not to any other *Bishops* but by his sufferance and authority, which is the matter to be proved, that there is neither reason nor

III.

<sup>m</sup> Bellarm de  
Rom. point. 4. 3.  
c. 12.

example for. No reason certainly, for if this did belong to all the *Apostles*, as *Bellarmino* affirms it did, then other Bishops which derive their pedigree from *Andrew, James, John, Paul*, or any other of the *Apostles*, have as much interest herein as the Popes of *Rome*, who challenge their descent from *Peter*. And for examples, if they go by that, they have a very desperate cause to manage. Tis true indeed, that *Clement*, one of the first Bishops of the Church of *Rome*<sup>n</sup>, did ordain severall Bishops in his time, and placed them in the chiefe Cities of those parts of *Gallia* which lay neer unto him, as viz. *Photinus* at *Lyons*, *Paul* at *Narbon*, *Gratian* at *Tours*, others in other places also, as *Ino Carnotensis* hath reported of him. But then it is as true withall, that other Bishops did the like in their times and places. *Christianity* and *Episcopacie* had not else in so short a time been propagated over all the world; if those which dwelt far off and remote from *Rome*, could not have sent and ordained Bishops in convenient places, without running thither, or having a *Commission* thence. And though we have no precedent hereof, in the present age, yet we may see by the continuall practise in the ages following, that Bishops were first propagated over all the Churches, by the assistance of such neighbor Churches in whom there had been Bishops instituted either by the *Apostles* and *Evangelists* themselves, or by their Successors.

<sup>n</sup> *Ino Carnotens.*  
in *Chron. MS.*  
citat. a *Patr.*  
*Junio.*



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 shop of the place, and went himself to see  
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<sup>q</sup> *Gregorius Presbyter* writing the life of *Nazi-*  
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 dictum.

<sup>o</sup> *Socras. eccles. hist. lib. 1. c. 13.*

<sup>p</sup> *Theodoret. hist. eccles. lib. 3. c. 4.*

<sup>q</sup> *Gregor. Presb. in vita Nazian.*

<sup>r</sup> *August. Epist.*

<sup>s</sup> *Bellarmin. de ecc. lib. 4. c. 3.*

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<sup>o</sup> *Socrat. eccles.*  
*hist. lib. 1. c. 15.*

<sup>p</sup> *Theodoret. hist.*  
*ecclesi. l. 3. c. 4.*

<sup>q</sup> *Gregor. Presb.*  
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<sup>r</sup> *August. Epist.*

<sup>s</sup> *Bellarmin. de ecc.*  
*lib. 4. c. 8.*

## IV.

<sup>c</sup> Damasc. in vita  
Eleuther. apud  
Bin in Consil.  
Tom. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Beda hist. eccl.  
lib. 1. c. 4.

*dictum*: but by their own proper and innate authority, as they were trusted with the government of the Church of *Christ*.

So then the Bishops onely of the Church of *Rome* had not the sole authority of instituting *Bishops*, where none were before. That's a dreame onely of the *Pontificalian*. Authority they had to doe it, as had others also; and hereof doth occur a notable and signall evidence in this present Age: *viz.* the setting of the Church of *Britaine*, and planting *Bishops* in the same by Pope *Eleutherius*<sup>c</sup>. Of him it is affirmed in the *Pontifical*, ascribed to *Damasus*, (who lived about the year 370.) *accepisse Epistolam a Lucio Britannico Rege, ut Christianus efficeretur per ejus mandatum*; that he received an Epistle from *Lucius* a British King, desiring that by his authority he might be made a *Christian*: Our venerable *Beda*, a right ancient writer, thus reports the story. *Anno ab incarnatione Domini 156. & c.* <sup>a</sup> In the 156. year after *Christ's* nativity, *Marcus Antonius Verus* together with *Aurelius Commodus* his brother, did in the fourteenth place from *Augustus Caesar*, undertake the government of the Empire. In whose times, when as *Eleutherius* a godly man was Bishop of the Church of *Rome*, *Lucius* King of the Britains sent unto him, *obsecrans ut per ejus mandatum Christianus efficeretur*, intreating by his means to be made a *Christian*; whose vertuous desire herein was granted; and the

the faith of Christ being thus received by the *Britans*, was by them kept inviolate and undefiled untill the times of *Dioclesian*. Wherein as I submit to *Beda*, as to the substance of the story, so I crave leave to differ from him as to the matter of *Chronologie*. For by this reckoning *Eleutherius* must attaine the Popedome *An. 167.* as *Beda* \* elsewhere doth compute it; which is ten yeeres at least before the time assigned him by most other writers. And therefore I shall rather choose to follow the commonly received account, by which the said two Emperours are brought upon the government of the *Roman Empire*, *Anno 161.* and the attaining of the Popedome by this *Eleutherius* is placed in the 17<sup>th</sup> yeere of *Marcus*, *Anno 177.* *Lucius Aurelius Commodus* being dead before. But in this Controversie, as it belongeth to Chronology, I shall not meddle at the present. It is enough, that the planting of the Gospell amongst the *Britans*, was, as the greatest, so the first action of this Pope, done by him, as we read in *Platina* †, *in its pontificatu*, at his first entrance on the place: wherein *Philippus Bergomensis* in *Supplemento Chronicorum*, l. 8. and *Cocc. Sabellicus*, *Ennead.* 7. l. 5. doe either follow him, or concur with him. How *Lucius* came to be inflamed with this holy zeale, is related diversly. ‡ *Nicolas Harpsfield* doth conceive it to be on occasion of the great miracle then lately done by the

\* *Beda in hist. Epitom.*

† *Platina in vita Eleutherii.*

‡ *Harpsfield in ec. hist. Angl. c. 3.*

*Christian legion*, obtaining raine from heaven by their fervent prayers, on the Imperiall Army much distressed with drought: by meanes whereof the Emperours dealt very favourably with the Christians, <sup>2</sup> *adjecta etiam accusatoribus damnatione*, even to the condemnation of their false Accusers. Others conceive, that being in himselfe of a sweet and gracious disposition, he was much taken with the reports that had come unto him <sup>a</sup> *de miraculis Christi, & predicatione Apostolorum*, touching the miracles of *Christ*, and the preaching of his holy *Apostles*. And possibly it might be both, one adding help and strength unto the other. But which soever it was, it seemeth he was not very forward at the first to imbrace the Gospell; being retarded from the same by the obscure and poore condition of the *Christians*<sup>b</sup>. But when he had beene well informed by *Pertinax* and *Trebellius*, Lieutenants in this Island for the Roman Emperours, *Romanorum illustres aliquot illam admisisse*, that many men of marke amongst the *Romans* had received the faith: he then resolved to goe through with his good intentions. <sup>c</sup> And being so resolved, he dispatched away *Elnanus* and *Medunus*, Britons both, and both initiated in the faith, to Pope *Eleutherius*: who giving thanks to God for so great a blessing, did first of all baptize the Legates or Ambassadors; and having consecrated *Elnanus* Bishop, and sitted *Medunus* for

\* *Tertull. Apol. cap. 5.*

<sup>a</sup> *Chron. Gisebur cit. ap. Armacan. de Primordius.*

<sup>b</sup> *Baleus de scrip. Brit. ant. 1.*

<sup>c</sup> *Lib. de primo statu Londanen. eccl. citat. apud Armacan. c. 4.*



“for a *Doctor* or an instructor of the people, or  
 “made him *Presbyter*, as I conceive the mea-  
 “ning of the place to be; he sent them backe  
 “againe to *Lucius*. The issue of the businesse  
 “was, *eorum predicatione* *Lucius*, & *totius*  
 “*Britanniae primates baptismum susceperunt*,  
 “that by their preaching, both *Lucius* and all  
 “the Noblemen of *Britaine* received the sacra-  
 “ment of *Baptisme*; and that according to the  
 “order of the said *Eleutherius*, the State *Ec-*  
 “*clesiasticall* was established, *Bishops* ordained,  
 “and the rules of godly living shewed unto  
 “the people. Nor did he trust this worke to  
 those two alone, but he sent with them others  
 also<sup>d</sup>, *Faganus*, and *Dervolanus* (or *Damianus*,  
 as some call him) to assist the worke, and con-  
 tribute their best endeavours to so great a bu-  
 sinesse, as most of our Historians witnesse.

This though it were a notable and signall  
 worke, and that we stand indebted for it unto  
 the piety and zeale of that holy Pope; yet was  
 not this the *planting* of the *Gospell* here, but  
 the *watering* of it. The *planting* of it was be-  
 fore, perhaps before it had been planted even  
 in *Rome* it selfe. *Gildas*<sup>e</sup>, one of the notedst  
 Antiquaries of the *British* Nation, doth affirm  
 expressly, *Tempore, ut scimus, summo Tiberii*  
*Caesaris*, that in the latter dayes of *Tiberius Ca-*  
*sar*, our Saviour *Christ* the Sun of righteous-  
 nesse, had with his beames enlightened this  
 frozen Island, and that his *Gospell* was here  
 pro-

<sup>d</sup>Platina in vita  
 Eleuther. alii.

V.

<sup>e</sup>Gildas de exci-  
 do Brit. in initio

propagated without let or hinderance. Now *Christ* our Saviour suffered in the 18 yeere of this *Tiberius*; and he againe deceased in the 39 of our Saviour: so that the faith of *Christ* was at the furthest preached unto the *Britaines* within 5 yeeres after the bitter passion of our Lord *Christ* *JESUS*. Whether at *Rome* so soone; or not, let them prove that can. That it was here so early, we have shewed a prooffe above all exception: and yet we have one more to come, as little liable to exception, in the opinion of the *Romanists*, as that before. It is a passage extant in *Baronius*<sup>1</sup>, and by him borrowed from the Acts or history of *Mary Magdalen* and her Associates; which tells us this, that after the dispersion of the *Disciples* on the death of *Steven*; *Lazarus*, *Mary Magdalen*, *Martha*, and *Marcella*, *in quos Judæi majori odio exardescabant*, against whom the *Jewes* were more incensed then against any of the rest, were not onely thrust out of *Hierusalem*, but together with one *Maximus*, one of the *Disciples*, put into a boate without oares, and so committed unto the mercy, or the fury rather, of the Sea, but were at last by Gods great providence brought unto *Marseilles* in safety, together with *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, who made himselfe a partner in the danger with them, and after went from *Gaul* to *Britaine*, *illicque post prædicatum Evangelium, dtem clausit extremum*, where having preached the Gospell, he did

<sup>1</sup> *Baron. in Annal. an 25. n 5.*

did end his dayes. With this, as for the time of *Josephs* comming into Britain, agreeth the argument made by the *English Ambassadors* at the Councell of *Constance*, upon occasion of a controversie, therein agitated, touching the dignity and greatnesse of the Kingdomes of *England* and *France*. In which it was thus pleaded by the *English Advocates*, *statim post passionem Christi*, that presently on the passion of *Christ*, *Joseph of Arimathea* that noble Counsellor, who took our Saviour from the Crosse, that he might early, in the morning, apply himselfe unto the dressing of the Lords Vineyard, came with his twelve Associates into *England*, (*i. e.* that part of *Britain* which was then called *England*) and converted the people of it to the Faith. And this I take, building upon the words of *Gildas*, to be more consonant to the truth of Story, then to put off his comming hither unto the 63. yeare after *Christs* nativity, or the 20. after his Ascension<sup>b</sup>, as some of our historians doe, on farre lesse authority. But being come, and having preached the *Gospell* here, as it is generally delivered by our ancient writers, he retired himselfe unto the Isle of *Avalonia*<sup>i</sup>, which we now call *Galesbury*, and there applyed himself unto his devotions: leaving the worke by him, began to receive a further measure of perfection, both from *St. Peter* who was here in person, and from \**Aristobulus* whom *Saint Paul* sent hither, as be-

<sup>b</sup> Citat. ap. Aemac. de Primordis Brit. eccles. c. 2

<sup>b</sup> Malmsbur. in hist. Monast. Glou. Joh. Capgrave: alii.

<sup>i</sup> Polyd. Virg. hist. Ang. l. 2. alii malis.

\* Vide c. 3. & 4.

fore was said. And though we doe not finde any evident footstep, that either *Aristobulus* being ordained *Bishop* of the *Britains*, or that those *Bishops* who are said to have been ordained by Saint *Peter*, left any to succeed them in that sacred office; or that Religion had gained much upon the people of this Iland, being then hardly civilized, and almost continually in warres and troubles: yet did the Skeleton or carkasse of it continue still from this time forwards, even to the dayes of *Diocletian*; sure I am *Gildas* doth expressly say it<sup>k</sup>, that howsoever the Gospell was received here but very coldly, at the first, *apud quosdam tamen integrè, apud alios minus, usque ad persecutionem Diocletiani tyranni novennem*, yet it continued amongst some in greater, with others in a lesse perfection, untill the nine years persecution raised by *Diocletian*. And questionlesse from this old brood of Christians *Eluannus* and *Medwinus* before remembred (whereof the one is called *Avalonius*<sup>l</sup>, the other *Belga*, this being the old name of that sept or nation, to which the Isle of *Avalonia* in those times belonged) receive their first affections to the Faith of *Christ*.

But of this, little question hath been raised amongst our Antiquaries. The greatest scruple is concerning *Lucius*, and the number of *Episcopall* Sees by him erected: whom the opposers of this story, allow not to be King of *Britain*, which

<sup>k</sup> *Gildas de ex-cidio Brit. in in-irio.*

<sup>l</sup> *Balams de scriptor. Cent. 1. c. 27. 28. Antiq. Brit. alii.*

which was reduced at that time to a *Roman* Province; and so by consequence of no ability to build so many *Christian* Churches and endow the same, for the advancement of a Religion not publicly allowed of in the *Roman* Empire. But this, as I conceive, is no such objection, but what may easily be answered; considering what was vouched out of *Bede*, before, the ancientest writer of the *English* nation, and no great friend unto the *British*. For they that know the customs of the *Roman* Empire, know this well enough, <sup>u</sup>that nothing was more usuall with them, *quam habere instrumenta servitutis, & Reges*, then to permit Kings in the conquered Countries, making them to be helpees and instruments for bringing the people into bondage. And they that know the passages of the present times, cannot choose but tell, that *Lucius Verus*, living in the times whereof we speak, having put an end unto the warre against the *Parthians*, <sup>u</sup>*regna Regibus, provincias vero Comitibus suis regendas dedisse*; did give those kingdoms which he had subdued, to be ruled by Kings; the Provinces to bee ruled by Earles or Counties. So that our *Lucius* might bee very well a King in *Britain*, notwithstanding the reduction of it to a *Roman* Province; especially considering that besides his birth-right<sup>o</sup>, he was confirmed in the same. *M. Antonini Veri tum benevolentia, cum auctoritate*, both by the power

<sup>u</sup>*Tacit. de vit. Agris.*

<sup>u</sup>*Capitolinus in Vero.*

<sup>u</sup>*Baleus de scrip Brit. Cen. 1. c. 29*

Tacit. Annal. l.  
14. & l de Vit.  
Agri.

Tertul. li. adv.  
Judeos cap. 7.

and favour of *M. Antoninus Verus*, then the Roman Emperour. A King then *Lucius* was, and a King in *Britain*; in *Britain* as a King of some part thereof, such as *P. Pratusagus*, and *Cordigunnus*<sup>P</sup>, of whom *Tacitus* speaketh, had been before: but not a King of *Britain*, as of all the Iland; it being probable that there were other petty Kings and Royetelets aswell as he. But as it hapned after in the *Saxon Heptarchie*, that he which was more eminent then the rest for power and puissance, was called commonly *Rex Gentis Anglorum*, the King or Monarch of the *English* nation: so I conceive, that of these tributary Kings in *Britain*, such as were in their severall times of more power then others, assumed unto themselves the stile or title of *Reges Britannorum*, the Kings of the Britains; by which name of *Rex Britannorum*, and not *Rex Britannia*, *Lucius* is called in *Beda*, as before was said: And thus then the seeming difficulty may be better solved, then by running out, I know not whither, beyond the territories of the Romans, to look for *Lucius* in the North parts of the Isle, which we now call *Scotland*: only because it is affirmed by *Tertullian*, *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo esse subdita*, that those remoter parts of *Britain*, which never had been Conquered by the *Romans*, were subdued to *Christ*: which might well be after the Gospell had been first received in the Southern Countries.



tries. In which as I can no way blame the *Scots* for seeking to appropriate this honour to their owne part of the Iland: so can I not but wonder at our learned *Camden*<sup>r</sup>, that without seeing better cards, he should so easily give up such an hopefull game. As for the name of *Lucius*, it is meereley *Latine*, and that derived upon him either from the British *Llos* (fashioned on the *Roman* anvill) as in that language he is called; or taken up from *Lucius Verrus*, one of the partners in the Empire at that very time, unto which family he stood indebted for his Crowne and dignity; or given him else upon the post-fact, after the glorious light of truth had shined on him, in which regard the *Britans* call him *Lever Maur*<sup>r</sup>, a man of great splendour and renowne, *propter fidem qua in ejus tempore venit*, by reason of the faith which in his time was brought into this Iland.

But to goe forwards with our story: *Lucius* and his Nobles being thus baptized, *Faganus* and *Deruvianus* returne to *Rome*, giving to *Eulutherius* an account of their great successe: of whom being joyfully received, and their Acts applauded, they returned back againe to *Britaine*, accompanied with many others<sup>r</sup>, *quorum doctrina gens Britonum in fide Christi in brevi fundata refulsit*, by whose assiduous preaching the whole *British* nation became in very little time to be well settled and confirmed in the faith of *Christ*. Now at this time of their

Hh 3

re-

<sup>r</sup>*Camden in Bri.  
descripte.*

<sup>r</sup>*Addit. in Nin.  
ap. Armacan. de  
Primordiis. c. 3.*

## VII.

<sup>r</sup>*Marsh. Westm.  
hist. in an. 136.*

repaire unto the Pope, I conceive it was, that they received instructions from him, for dealing with that godly King to found *Episcopall* Sees in the most convenient places of his Dominions: themselves receiving at that time, in all probability, the *Episcopall* Character. For after this I find them honoured with the name of *Bishops*, being by <sup>u</sup> *Rodburne* in his Chronicle called *Antistites*, and by the <sup>u</sup> Author of the booke entituled *De Antiquitatibus Ecclesie Wintoniensis*, in plaine termes *Episcopi*: *Faganus* being further said by some <sup>x</sup>, to have been made the first Arch-Bishop of the See of *Tork*, Being returned into *Britaine*, and the King thoroughly established in the faith of *Christ*, it was no difficult matter to perswade him to turn the temples of the *Idols* into *Christian* Churches; and to appropriate the revenues of them to more pious uses. And this he did, as *Matthew* of *Westminster* observes<sup>x</sup>, although he differ from us in his calculation, the very next yeere after their returne from *Rome*. *Gloriosus Rex Britonum Lucius*, &c. *Lucius* the glorious King of the *Britans*, when he had seen the faith of *Christ* dispersed and propagated over his dominions, *possessiones & territoria Ecclesiarum & viris Ecclesiasticis abundanter conferens*, bestowing with a liberall hand possessions and revenues both on Church and Churchmen, did ratifie the said donations by his publick Charters. And this he saith on the authority of

<sup>u</sup> *Citat. ap. Ar. l. de Primer. c. 6.*

<sup>x</sup> *Ibidid. cap. 3.*

<sup>x</sup> *Matth. Westmon. hist. in An. 187.*

of *Gildas*, who in a booke of his entituled *De viſtoria Aurelii Ambroſii*, not now extant, had affirmed the ſame. *Radulphus de Diceto* ſpeakes more fully to the point in hand; *Eleutherus*, ſaith he, ſent into *Britaine*, *Faganus* and *Dionanius* (for ſo he calls him) who having baptized *Lucius* the King, *templa etiam que in honorem plurimorum deorum fundata erant*, did dedicate unto the one and onely God, thoſe temples which had been built in former times to the honour of *Idols*. More fully, yet in fewer words, *Gervase of Tilbury* doth relate it thus: *Hic Lucius omnia territoria, templis pridem collata, contulit Eccleſiis, & ampliavit*: This *Lucius*, ſaith he, beſtowed upon the Churches thoſe lands and territories which had beene formerly conferred on the *Pagan* temples; and enlarged them alſo. So that we finde the Church indowed, and *Bishops* inſtituted in the time of *Lucius*; and that I hold to be above all exception, as will appeare more evidently by the *Episcopall* ſucceſſion, reckoned from this time: but whether in ſo large a number, and upon that occaſion, as it is layd before us in our common *Chroniclers*, that is the point to be conſidered. Now our *Historians* old and new, very few excepted, report that in thoſe times in *Britaine* there were no leſſe then 28 Cities of name and eminency, whereof 25 had anciently been the ſeats of the heaſthen *Flamines*; the three remaining, *viz.* *Tork*,

7 citat. ap. *Ar-*  
*mahan. lib. de*  
*Primord. c. 4.*

\* *Ap. ex. d. c. 6.*

Torke, London, and Caer-Leon upon Uske, of the *Archiflamines*: and that upon the introduction of the Gospell hither, the temples of the *Idols* being turned into *Christian* Churches, in steed of *Flamines* they placed *Bishops*; *Archbishops* in the place of the *Archi-Flamines*. All our owne writers, which speake of the foundation of these Bishopricks, from *Geofry* of *Monmouth* downe to *Polydore Virgil*, doe report it thus. And so doe many forreine also, beginning with *Martinus Polonus*, who first tooke it up; and so descending downe to *Platina*, and since to other later Authors, both ours and theirs. <sup>a</sup> *Erant tunc in Britannia viginti octo Pontifices Idolorum, quos Flamines vocabant; inter quos tres Archiflamines erant. Sed predicti Sancti* (that is, *Faganus* and *Deruvianus*) *de mandato Apostolici, ubi erant Flamines, instituerunt Episcopos; ubi Archiflamines, Archiepiscopos.* We had the same before in *English*, save that the Popes appointment (*mandatum Apostolici*) doth here occurre, which there we had not. And how farre this may stand with probability, or with truth of story, is in the next place to be looked on.

<sup>a</sup> *Martin. Polonus in Chron.*

## VIII.

<sup>b</sup> *Beda Hist Ecc. Angl. l. i. cap. i.*

And for the number of them first, it cannot be denied but that of old there were no lesse then 28 Cities in these parts of *Britaine* which we now call *England*. *Beda* affirms it so expressly, *Erat & viginti octo Civitatibus quondam nobilissimis insignita*, that *Britaine* anciently

ently was ennobled with 28. signall and noted Cities, besides Towns and Castles. *Henry of Huntingdon* doth not onely declare as much, but lets us know the severall names whereby they had been called in the Brittaines time; and by the which the most of them were known in the later ages, when he lived. And possibly there might be *Bishops* in them all, according as the Gospell did enlarge its borders, and Provinces were gained to the Faith of Christ: though neither all so earely as the daies of *Lucius*, nor all of his foundation and endowment, as it is supposed. It was a worke too mighty for a petty Prince to spread his arms at once over all the Iland, especially so many Provinces therof, being none of his. What might be done in times succeeding, and by his example, is not now the question: nor whether that which was done after, might in some sort be ascribed to him, as being the first that gave the onset, & shewed the way to others, how to do the like: as *Rome* is said to have built been by *Romulus* because he began it, the greatest part thereof being built along time after. And this seems probable to me, as to the number of the Sees *Episcopall*, that there were so many: because that *Gregory the great* by his constitution, appointed twelve *Bishops* for the Province of *Canterbury*, and twelve also unto that of *Tork*: which with the foure in *Wales*, which are still remayning, will make up eight and twenty

<sup>a</sup> *Huntingdonen.*  
*hist. l. 1. in init.*

<sup>d</sup> *ap. Bedan. hist.*  
*Eccle. l. 1. c. 29.*

in the totall. But for the *Flamines* and *arch-Flamines*, I must confesse I am not so well satisfied in the probability and truth of that. That by the name of *Flamines* the *Gentiles* used to call the *Priests* of their severall Gods, I know well enough. *Sacerdotes Gentilium Flamines dicebantur*<sup>e</sup>, as it is in *Isidore*. But being that one and the same City, had not onely many *Flamines*, but also many Colleges of *Flamines*, according to the number of the Gods they worshipped, some for *Mars*, others for *Jupiter*, and some for *Romulus*; and that there is no ancient writer of the *Roman* stories which mentioneth either *Archiflamines* or *Protoflamines*, as is objected very well by B. *Godwin*<sup>f</sup>: I must confesse I am not so well satisfied in this point, as to deliver it for a certaine and undoubted truth. He that desires to see what may be answered unto those objections, let him consult the learned and laborious worke of *Francis Mason* late Archdeacon of *Norfolk*, *De Ministerio Anglicano*<sup>g</sup>, the summe whereof in brief is this, *Licet in una urbe multi Flamines*, that though there were many *Flamines* in one City, yet was there only one which was called *Pontifex*, or *Primus Flaminum*; the Pope or principall of the *Flamine*; of which kind, one for every City, were those whom our historians speake of; And for the *Archiflamines*, or *Proto-Flamines*, though the name occurre not, yet were there some in power and authority above the

<sup>e</sup> *Isidor. Origin.*  
l. 7. c. 12.

<sup>f</sup> *Godwin. Lan-*  
*davens. tract. de*  
*convers. Brit.*

<sup>g</sup> *Mason de Mi-*  
*nist. Ang. l. 2. c. 3.*



the rest, who were entituled *primi Pontificum*, (as indeed *Coisib*<sup>h</sup>, by that name is called in *Beda*) which is the same in sense with *Archiflamines*, although not in sound. This if it satisfy the Reader, shall not thwart with me; who am no enemy unto the story, or any part thereof which may well be justified. If not, but that it rather be accounted a device of *Monkish* ignorance, I shall desire them, who are so opinionated to consider this, that few of the records of those elder daies, have come entire unto our hands; and that it is no marvell if such an ancient story as this is, (considering through whose hands it passed) hath in so long a tract of time, contracted somewhat of that rust and rubbish wherewith the middle ages of the Church did so much abound.

<sup>h</sup> Beda hist. eccl. Angl. l. 2. c. 13.

Yet if mine own opinion were demanded in it, though I agree unto the story, both for the number of the *Bishops* and the *Metropolitans*, I must needs think there was some other reason for it then the relation of the number of the *Flamines* and *Archiflamines*, which is there pretended: and that this was not done at once, but in a longer tract of time then the reign of *Lucius*, as was in part affirmed before. That *Lucius* did convert the *Temples* of the *Idols* into *Christian Churches*, settled the revenues of the same upon the *Churches* by him founded, I shall easily grant; so farre forth as the bounds of his dominions will give way

IX.

unto it; but being there were but 28. Cities in all that part of *Britaine* which we now call *England*, as both from *Huntingdon* and *Beda* was before delivered; and that King *Lucius* was but a Tributary Prince of those Regions only, which were inhabited by the *Trinobantes* and *Cattiueblani*, as I doe verily conceive he was: I believe rather that the number of the *Bishops* and *Archbishops* which our stories speake of, related to the forme of government as it was afterwards established in the *Roman* Empire, and not to any other cause whatever. Now they which have delivered to us the state of the *Roman* Empire, informe us this, That for the easier government and administration of the same,<sup>i</sup> it was divided into fourteen *Dioceses* (for so they called those greater portions into the which it was divided:) every *Diocese* being subdivided into severall *Provinces*, and every *Province* in the same containing many severall Cities. And they which have delivered to us the estate of the *Christian* Church, have informed us this, that in each City of the Empire, wherein the *Romans* had a<sup>k</sup> *Defensor Civitatis* (as they called that Magistrate) the *Christians* when they gain'd that City to the holy faith, did ordain a *Bishop*; that over every *Province* in w<sup>ch</sup> the *Romans* had their *Presidents*, they did place an *Archbishop*, whose seate being commonly in the *Metropolis* of the Province, gave him the name of *Metropolitan*: and

<sup>i</sup> *Notitia Provinc. in div. cap.*

<sup>k</sup> *Notitia Prov. & dignitat. c.*

and finally that in every *Diocese* in which the Romans had their *Vicarius*, or Lieutenant general, the *Christians* also had their *Primate*, and seated him in the same City also where the other was. This ground thus layed, it will appear upon examination, that *Britaine* in the time of the *Roman Empire* was a full *Diocese*<sup>1</sup> of it selfe, no way depending upon any other portion of that mighty state, as any way subordinate thereunto. And being a *Diocese* in it selfe, it was divided in those times into these three *Provinces*, viz.<sup>m</sup> *Britannia prima*, containing all the Countries on the South of the River *Thames*, and those inhabited by the *Trinobantes*, *Cattiuchlani*, and *Iceni*: 2. *Britannia secunda*, comprising all the Nations within the *Severne*: and 3. *Maxima Caesariensis*, which comprehended all the residue to the Northern border. In the which *Provinces* there were no lesse then 28 Cities, as before is said; of which *Torke* was the chiefe in *Maxima Caesariensis*; *London* the principall in *Britannia prima*; *Caer-Leon* upon *Usk*, being the *Metropolis* in *Britannia secunda*. And so we have a plaine and apparent reason, not only of the 28 *Episcopall Sees*, erected anciently in the *British Church*; but why three of them, and three only, should be *Metropolitans*. For howsoever after this there were two other *Provinces* taken out of the former three, viz. *Valentia* and <sup>n</sup> *Flavia Caesariensis*, which added to the

<sup>1</sup> Ib. in *Province Occident.* sup. c. 3.

<sup>m</sup> Cambd. de divisione *Britan.*

<sup>n</sup> Id. *ibid.*

° *Concil. Nicen.*  
*Can. 6.*

former, made up five in all: yet this being after the conclusion of the *Nicene* Councell, the *Metropolitan* dignity in the Church remained as before it did, without division or abatement, according to the ° *Canon* of that famous Synod. And herewithall we have a pregnant and infallible Argument, that *Britaine* being in it self a whole and complete *Diocese* of the *Roman* Empire, no way subordinate unto the *Præfect* of the City of *Rome*, but under the command of its owne *Vicarius* or *Lieutenant Generall*; the *British* Church was also absolute and independent, owing nor suite nor service, as we use to say, unto the *Patriarch* or *Primate* of the Church of *Rome*, but onely to its owne peculiar and immediate *Primate*; as it was elsewhere in the Churches of the other *Dioceses* of the *Roman* Empire. This I conceive to be the true condition of the *British* Church, and the most likely reason for the number of *Bishops* and *Archbishops* here established, according to the truth of Story, abstracted from those errors and mistakes, which in the middle Ages of the Church, have by the *Monkish* writers of those times been made up with them.

X.

But for the substance of the story, as by them delivered, which is the planting of the Church with *Bishops* in eminent places, that appeares evidently true by such remainders of antiquity as have escaped the tyranny and wrack of time. For in the Councell held at

*Arles*

Arles in France, an. 314. we finde three <sup>h</sup> *British* Bishops at once subscribing, viz. *Eborius* B. of York, *Reſtitutus* B. of London, and *Adelfus* B. of Colcheſter, there called *Colonia Londinienſium*. *Gennadius* alſo, in his Tract, *de viris illuſtribus*, mentioneth one *Faſtidius*, by the name of *Faſtidius Britanniarum Episcopus*, amongſt the famous writers of old time, placing him an. 420. or thereabouts; whom B. *Godwin* <sup>k</sup> I cannot tell upon what reaſons, reckoneth amongſt the Bishops of the See of London. Particularly for the Bishops or Archbishops of the *British* Church, we have a Catalogue of the *Metropolitans* of London collected or made up by *Joceline* <sup>l</sup>, a Monke of *Fourneſt*, an ancient Monastery <sup>m</sup> in the North, being 14. in all: which, howſoever the validity thereof may perhaps be questioned by more curious wits, yet I ſhall lay downe as I finde it: taking their names from him; that little ſtory which concerns them, out of other writers. Firſt then we have *Theon* or *Theonus*: 2 *Eluanus*, one of the two Ambaſſadours ſent by K. *Lucius* to the Pope. 3 *Cadar* or *Cadocus*: 4 *Obinus* or *Owinus*: 5 *Conanus*: 6 *Palladius*: 7 *Stephanus*: 8 *Ilutus*: 9 *Theodwinus*: 10 *Theodredus*: 11 *Hilarius*: 12 *Guitelinus* <sup>n</sup> ſent as Ambaſſadour to *Aldrocus* King of *Armorica* or *Little Britaine*, to crave his ayde againſt the *ſcots* and *Picts*, who then plagued the *Britaines*: 13 *Vodius* or *Vodinus*, ſlaine by *Hengiſt* (but ſome ſay

<sup>l</sup> Tom. I. Concilior. Gall. à Sir-mundo edit.

<sup>k</sup> Gennad. in Catal.

<sup>m</sup> Godwin in Catal. Episc. Londinerſ.

<sup>l</sup> Cit. ap. Armachan-de Primor. c. 5.  
<sup>n</sup> Camden in Brigant.

<sup>n</sup> Geoff. Monmouth, hiſt. Britan.

<sup>o</sup> Speed in desc.  
Britan.

<sup>f</sup> Godw. in Ar-  
chiep. Eboracen.

<sup>m</sup> Galfrid. Mo-  
numet. hist. l. 9.  
c. 8.  
Math. Westmon.

<sup>n</sup> Matth. Florile-  
gus in A°. 586.

<sup>o</sup> Liber Eccles.  
Landavens.

say by *Vortiger*) at the first entrance of the *Saxons* into this Isle: 14 And last of all *Theonius* who had been sometimes Bishop of *Gloucester*, but was after translated hither, and was the last Bishop of *London*, of this line or *Series*. Of some of these, viz. the second, and the three last, there is good *constat* in Antiquity: whether there be the like of all the residue, I am not able to determine. So for the *Bishops* or *Archbishops* of *Tork*, of the *British* line, besides *Faganus* the first Archbishop of this See, as before was said; and besides *Eborius* formerly remembred amongst the Subscribers to the Council of *Arles*: our stories tell us of one *Sampson* <sup>f</sup> said to be made the Bishop of the place in the time of *Lucius*; of one <sup>m</sup> *Pyramus* preferred unto this honour by King *Arthur*, whose domestick Chapleine he then was: and finally of *Tadiacus* <sup>n</sup>, who together with *Theonius* the last Bishop of *London* of this line or race, fled into *Wales*, the better to avoyd the tyranny of the *Saxons*, who then made havock of the Church. And for the Bishops or Archbishops of *Caerleon* upon *Usk*, which was the third *Metropolitall* City in the account and estimate of those times, we have assurance of *Dubritius* <sup>o</sup> a right godly man, ordained Bishop of the same by *Germanus* & *Lupus*, two French Prelates, at such time as they came to *Britaine* for the suppressing of the *Pelagian* heresie; whose Successours we have upon record, under the



the title of *Llandaffe* to this very day. That *Gloucester* also in those times was a *Bishops* See, besides what did appeare before, is affirmed by *Cambden*<sup>p</sup>, who tells us that the *Bishops* of the same occurre in the subscriptions to some ancient Councils, under the name of *Cluwienses*; for by the name of *Clevum* or *Caer-glowry* was it called of old. But not to wander into more particulars, either *Sees* or *Bishops*; we finde in *Athanasius*<sup>q</sup>, that in the Councell of *Sardica*, holden in *An. 358*. some of the *British* *Bishops* were assembled amongst the rest, concurring with them in the condemnation of the *Arian* heresies. As also, that in the Councell of *Ariminum*, held the next yeere after, the *British* *Bishops* were there present: three of the which were so necessitous and poore, that they were faine to be mainteined at the publick charge, *Sanctius putantes si cum granare quam singulos*, thinking it farre more commendably honest to be defraied out of the *Exchequer*, then to be burdensome unto their friends. And when Pope *Gregory* sent *Austin* hither for the conversion of the *Saxons*, he found no fewer then seven<sup>r</sup> *Bishops* in the *British* Churches; viz. *Herefordensis*, *Tawensis*, *Paternensis*, *Banchorensis*, *Elwienensis*, *Wiccenensis*, and *Morganensis* (or rather *Meneuensis*) as<sup>r</sup> *Balaeus* counts them. All of which, that of *Paternensis* excepted onely, doe still remaine amongst us under other names.

K k

Now

<sup>p</sup> *Cambden in descript Brit. in Dobunio.*

<sup>q</sup> *Athanas. Apol. 2. in initio.*

<sup>r</sup> *Sulpicius Severus in hist. sacr. l. 2.*

<sup>r</sup> *Beda Ecc. hist. l. 2. cap. 2.*

<sup>r</sup> *Balaeus Cant. 1. 670.*

XI.

Now if I should be asked, whom I conceive to have been the *Pr. mate* of the *British* Church during the time it flourished, and stood upright, neither oppressed by the tyranny of *Dioclesian*, nor in a sort exterminated by the *Saxons* fury; I answer, that it is most likely to be the *Metropolitan* or Archbishop of *Tork*: And this I doe upon these reasons. For first, however it appeares by <sup>u</sup>*Tacitus*, that *London* was a Towne of the greatest trade, *copia negotiorum et commeatum maxime celebris*, as that Author hath it: yet neither was it ever made a Roman *Colony*, nor made the seat at any time of the *Roman* Emperours. But on the other side, *Tork* was a *Colony* of the *Romans*, even of long continuance, as appeares not onely by the testimony of *Ptolomy* and *Antoninus*; but by this ancient inscription vouched by Mr. *Cambden*, and by an old Coyne of *Severus* the *Roman* Emperour, bearing this inscription, COL. EBORACUM LEG. VI. VICTRIX. And as it was a *Colony* of the *Roman* people, so was it also for a time the seat of the *Roman* Emperours: For here the Emperour *Severus* <sup>2</sup> before remembred, yielded up his soule: and here *Constantius Chlorus* deceased also, having both kept their seat there a good time before: here *Constantine* <sup>3</sup> the great advancer of the faith & Gospeli, was first brought forth into the world; and here did he first take upon him, together with the name of *Cesar*, the

<sup>u</sup> *Tacit. Annal.*  
lib. 14.

<sup>o</sup> *Id. ibid.*

<sup>r</sup> *Camden in*  
*Brit. descript.*

<sup>2</sup> *Id. ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Id. ibid.*

the government of that part of the *Roman* Empire, which had belonged unto his Father. So that *Eboracum* or *Tork*, being the ancient seat of the *Roman* Emperours, what time they pleased to be resident in the Isle of *Britaine*, was questionlesse the seate of their *Vicarii* or *Lieutenants Generall*, when they were absent from the same: and so by consequence, the seat of the *British Primate*, according to the rules and platforme before layd downe. Adde here that for the time the *Romans* held this Iland in their possession, they setled their *Prætorium* for the administration of Justice, in the City of *Tork*, drawing thither the resort of all the subjects which had any businesse of that kinde, for dispatch thereof: in which regard it is called by *Spartianus* *κατ' ἄρεαν*, the City, as by way of excellence. *Veniens in Civitatem, primum in templum Bellonæ ductus est*, speaking of the entrance which *Severus* made into the City of *Tork*. But that which most of all confirms me, is the subscription of the *British* Bishops to the Councell of *Arles*, as it is published amongst the *Gallick* Councils by *Sirmundus*, thus: *Eborius, Episcopus de Civitate Eboracensi, Provincia Britannia. Restitutus Episcopus de civitate Londinensi, Provincia supradicta. Adelfius Episcopus de civitate Colonia Londinensium; exinde Sacerdos Presbyter, Arminius Diatonus*. By which subscription it is plaine, that the Bishop or Archbishop of *Tork*, having place of

*° Spartian. in  
vita Severi.*

*London*, was *Primate* of the *British Church*: there being otherwise no reason why he should have precedence in the subscription. And so much for the settling of *Episcopacy* in the Church of *Britaine*, at this reception of the Gospel from the See of *Rome*: being the first time that the Faith of *Christ* was publicly received and countenanced, not in this Island only, but any other part of the world whatever. All which I have layd downe together, that I might keep my selfe the closer to my other businesses; to which now I hasten.



## CHAP. III.

The Testimony given unto *Episcopall* authority, in the last part of this second Century.

I. *The difference betwixt Pope Victor and the Asian Bishops, about the feast of Easter.*

II. *The interpleading of Polycrates and Irenæus, two renowned Prelates, in the aforesaid cause.*

III. *Severall Councils called about it, by the Bishops of the Church then being; with observations on the same.*

IV. of

IV. *Of the Episcopall succession in the foure prime Sees, for this second Century.*

V. *An answer to some objections made against the same.*

VI. *The great authority and esteem of the said foure Sees, in those early dayes.*

VII. *The use made of this Episcopall succession by Saint Irenæus.*

VIII. *As also by Tertullian and some other Ancients.*

IX. *Of the authority enjoyed by Bishops in Tertullians time, in the administration of the Sacraments.*

X. *As also in enjoyning fasts, and the disposing of the Churches treasure.*

XI. *And in the dispensation of the Keyes.*

XII. *Tertullian misalledged in maintenance of the Lay Presbyterie.*

XIII. *The great extent of Christianity and Episcopacie, in Tertullians time, concludes this Century.*



Having thus settled the affaires of the Church of *Britaine*, we will look back again towards *Rome*, where wee find *Vicfor* sitting as successor unto *Eleutherius*; and the whole Church though free from persecutions, yet terribly embroyled

with Schismes and Heresies. For in the later end of *Eleutherius*, *Blasius* and *Florinus* two notorious *Hereticks* had broached this doctrine, <sup>2</sup> τὸν θεὸν ἵνα καὶ ποιητὴν ἔγκαιν, that God was the author of sin: and possibly might have spread the venom of their *Heresy* exceeding far, if *Irenaeus* that great and learned Bishop of *Lyons*, being then at *Rome*, had not prescribed a speedy and a soveraign *Antidote*, in severall tractates and discourses against the same. But *Eleutherius* being dead, and *Victor* in his place, there hapned such a Schisme in the Church of *Christ*, by his precipitance and perverseness, that all the water, which *Irenaeus* and many other godly men <sup>b</sup> could powre into it, was hardly sufficient to quench the flame. The businesse which occasioned it, was the feast of *Easter*: or indeed not the feast it selfe, upon the keeping of the w<sup>ch</sup> all *Christians* had agreed from the first beginnings; but for the day in which it was to be observed, wherein the Churches of *Asia* had an old tradition, differing from the rest of *Christendome*. For whereas generally that festivall had been solemnized in the Church of *Christ*, on the *Lords day* next after the *Jewish passover*, as being the day which our Redeemer honored with his *Resurrection*: the Christians of the *Asian* Churches kept it, upon the 14. day of the moneth precisely, being the very day prescribed for the *Jewish passover*. A businesse of no great importance,

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. Ec. hist. 15. c. 19.

<sup>b</sup> Id. l. 5. c. 23 & 24.



tance, more then for a generall conformity in the Church of *Christ*; yet such as long had exercised the patience of it, even from the time of *Pius* Pope of *Rome*, who first decreed it to be kept on the Lords day, *Die Dominico Pascha celebrari*, as it is in *Platina*; but followed with most heat and violence by this *Victor*, perhaps upon the *Omen* of his name. Of whom *Eusebius* thus <sup>d</sup>reporteth, ἀβείας τῆς Ἀσίας ναύτης, &c. that he attempted to cut off the whole Church of *Asia*, together with the Churches adjacent, from the Communion of the *Catholic*, αἱ ἐκείθεν, as if they had maintained some heterodox or dangerous Doctrine contrary to the Faith of *Christ*. A matter taken very tenderly not onely by the *Asian* Bishops whom it most concerned; but also by som other of the western parts, who more endeavoured the preservation of the Churches peace, then the advancement and authority of the See of *Rome*: those of chiefe note which interessed themselves therein, being *Irenaus*; *Polycrates*; the one Bishop of the *Metropolitan* Church of *Lyons* in *France*; the other of the Church of *Ephesus*, the Queen of *Asia*; both honourable in their times and places.

And first *Polycrates* begins <sup>e</sup>deriving the occasion and discent of their observation, from *Philip* τῷ δίδων Ἀποστόλῳ one of the twelve Apostles (not of the *seven Deacons*, as our *Christopher*son most ridiculously and fallly doth

<sup>c</sup> *Platina in vita Pii Pont.*

<sup>d</sup> *Euseb. Ec. hist. l. 5 c. 24.*

II.

<sup>e</sup> *Id. Ibid.*

doth translate it ) who dyed at *Hierapolis* a City of *Phrygia*; and from Saint *John* <sup>ὁ ἐν τῷ σῆμα τῷ κυρίου ἀναπαύων</sup>, who rested on the bosome of our Lord and Saviour; as also from *Polycarpus*, and *Thracias*, Bishops of *Smyrna*, and both *martyrs*; *Sagaris* B. of *Laodicea*, *Papyrus* and *Melito* and many others, who kept the feast of Easter as the *Asians* did. As for himsele, he certifieth, that following the traditions of his Elders he had done the like; that seven of his kindred had been *Bishops*, <sup>ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὄγδο</sup>, himsele being the eighth, and all which did so observe the feast of *Easter*, when the *Jewes* did prepare the *Passcover*; that having served God 65. years, diligently canvassed over the holy Scriptures, and held both entercourse and correspondence with many of the brethren over all the world, <sup>καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς</sup>, hee was the least disturbed at those *bruta fulmina*. Adding withall, that he might here commemorate those severall *Bishops* that were assembled at his call to debate the point; <sup>ὅτι τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν γράφω πάλιν ἀλλὰ ἀπέβη ἔσθιν</sup>, but that this bare recitall of their names was too great a trouble: who tho they could not but be sensible of his imperfections, yet thinking that he bare not those gray haire for nought did willingly subscribe unto his epistle. So farre, and to this purpose he. And on the other side, *Irenaus* <sup>ἢ</sup> writing unto *Victor*, utterly dislikes that his severe and rigid manner of

of proceeding, in cutting off so many Churches from the Communion of our Lord, ἀρχαῖς ἡμεῖς προσδεῖν ἐκκλησίαις, onely because they did adhere to the tradition of their ancestors in a point of Ceremony : shewing how much he differed in this businesse from the temper and moderation of his Predecessours, *Soter*, *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Higinus*, *Sixtus* and *Telesphorus*, who though they held the same opinions that he did notwithstanding entertaine the *Asian* Bishops, when they came unto them, with great affection and humanity ; sending to those who lived farre distant, the most blessed *Eucharist*, in testimony of their fellowship and Communion with them. Nor did he write thus unto *Victor* onely, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφόροις πολλοῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐκκλησίαις, but to the Governours or Bishops of many other Churches also. And certainly it was but need that such a moderator should be raised to atone the difference : the billowes beating very highly, and *Victor* being beset on every side for his stiffe perverseness, by the *Prelates* of the adverse party, πικρὰ καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ῥημάτων τῷ Βισκόπῳ, sharply assaulting him both with words and writings.

For the composing of this businesse, before it grew to such a heat, there could no better means be thought of, then that the Bishops of the Church in their severall quarters should meet together to debate and determine of it. And so accordingly they did. ἡ Σύνοδος δὲ καὶ συ-

L I

xxy-

III.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. hist. eccl.  
l. 5. c. 22. xy.

κεντήσεις ἐπισκοπῶν ἐν ταύτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, and many  
 Synods and assemblies of the *Bishops*, were held  
 about it : viz. one in *Cæsarea* of *Palestine*,  
 wherein *Theophilus* B. of the place, and *Nar-*  
*cissus* B. of *Hierusalem* did sit as *Presidents*: an-  
 other at *Rome*: a third of all the *Bishops* of *Pon-*  
*tus*, in the which *Palmas*, ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, as  
 the chiefe amongst them of that order, did  
 then preside: A fourth there was of the  
*French* or *Gallick* Churches, in the which *Ire-*  
*næus* sat as cheife: a fifth of all the Churches  
 about *Osroena* and the parts adjoyning. *Ba-*  
*chyllus* Bishop of *Corinth*, ὁ πάλαι ὁνι ἀλλοι, and  
 many other Bishops of particular Churches,  
 held their *Synod* also apart and separate, which  
 all with one consent determined, that the feast  
 of *Easter* was to be observed on no other day  
 then that upon the which our Saviour rose:  
 contrary to the usage of the *Asian* Churches. In  
 agitation of which businesse, I observe these  
 things. First, that *Episcopacy* in so short a time  
 was settled and confirmed over all the world, or  
 so much of it at the least, as had received the  
 Faith and Gospel. Secondly, that on alle-  
 mergent controversies, that did ingage the  
 Church of Christ, the Bishops, as men most  
 concerned in the Churches Peace, were still  
 most forward also to compose the same. Third-  
 ly, that on the practises of the Popes of *Rome*  
 to enlarge their border, the Bishops of the  
 Church of what part soever, have alwayes  
 been

been most ready to oppose the same; and keep that proud and swelling *See* within the compasse of its proper and peculiar bounds. So farre were those most godly and Religious men, from *making a stirrup for Antichrist to get into his Saddle*, though some have forgiven out in these later dayes to the dishonor of those glorious lights in the house of *Christ*, and the profane reproach not only of the wisdom of that Church, but also of the holy Spirit of almighty God. Fourthly, that on the rising of such differences, as did disturb the Churches Peace, the Bishops of the Church <sup>b</sup>have an innate and proper power, of convocating and assembling *Councils* both *Nationall* and *Provinciall* for the appealing of the same; wherein the greatest Champions of the Popedome, doe consent also: Which power as they made use of, as their own peculiar, when as there were no Christian Princes to have a care unto the maine: so since there have been Christian Princes, that power is not extinguished but directed onely. Fifthly, that in those Councils or Synodical meetings, the Bishops and their Clergy had authority both to debate and to determine of all such matters, as did concerne the Church of *Christ*, either in point of Faith or Ceremony; not seeking any confirmation of their Acts and Ordinances, from that Christian people, who were to yeeld obedience to them. And last of all, that such

<sup>a</sup> See *Styrm* p. 30.<sup>b</sup> See *Arm de Con.* l. 1. 12.

things as by them were then determined, did presently oblige all people under the governance and direction of the said Prelates and Clergy, so met together & assembled, as before is said: as appears partly by that calme which followed over all the Church, upon the holding of these Synods; but principally by that end, which afterwards was put unto this controversie, by the Councell of *Nice*.

## IV.

But to proceed with *Irenaeus* that Religious Prelate, from what hee did as Bishop in the Churches service, for the atoning of her differences and the advancement of her peace, to that which he hath left behinde him concerning Bishops, as a learned writer, the light and glory of this age. Which evidence of his, because it doth relate to the *Episcopall succession* in the Church of *Christ* as a foundation on the which hee doth build his structures; we will first look on the *succession* of the foure prime Sees, by which we may conjecture at the state and quality of all the rest. And this we cannot doe at a better time, then where now we are, the time when *Victor* sat in the Chaire of *Rome*: which being in the close of the present *Century*, gives us opportunity, to looke as well upon his Predecessors, as his and their *Cotemporaries* in the same. And first for *Rome*, from *Clemens* where we first began, to *Victor* which is now the subject of our History, we finde the names and actions of nine intermediate

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. in Chro.



ate *Bishops*: *Clemens* being the fourth, and *Vidor* the 14. in that Catalogue; most of the which had suffered death for the sake of *Christ*, whose honour they preferred before worldly glories. For *Antioch* next, I finde that from *Ignatius* who began this *Century*, unto *Serapion* who sate Bishop there in the conclusion of the same, were five Bishops onely: and that in *Alexandria*, from *Cerdo* to *Demetrius* inclusively, were no more then seven. By which it is most cleare and evident that the Bishops in neither of these Churches, held the chair by turns<sup>d</sup> from week to week, or from moneth to moneth as some men suppose, but were invested with a constant and fixt preheminance, such as the Bishops now enjoy in the Church of *Christ*: some of them, in the two last specially, holding out ten yeeres, some twenty, others more then that; as by the tables of *succession* published by *Eusebius*, doth at full appeare. As for *Hierusalem*, the Bishops thereof indeed held not out so long, there being no fewer then thirteen from *Simeon* unto *Marcus* the first Bishop of that Church, which was not of the *circumcision*; and thirteen more betwixt this *Marcus* and *Narcissus*, who closed this *century*. So that within one hundred years there sat nine and twenty Bishops in this Church: which sheweth, as *Baronius* well observeth, *Ecclesiam Hierosolymitanam diraisse persecutione vexatam*, that this poore

<sup>d</sup> *Beza de divers. grad.*

<sup>e</sup> *Bar. in Annal. an. 113.*

Church was terribly afflicted with persecutions. And so it is most like to be: For standing as it did betwixt *Jew* and *Gentile*, and equally hated of them both; how could it choose but suffer under a double tyranny; each of the adversaries striving who should most afflict her? Nor hath *Eusebius* onely given a bare and naked list of names, but calculated punctually and precisely, the time and years, which all the *Bishops* of the three first Sees did possesse the government of those Churches: which he professeth that he could not finde in the last exactly, by reason of the shortnesse of their lives, <sup>ε</sup> κομῶν γὰρ ἐν βραχυβίῳ αὐτοῖς λόγῳ κατέχει, as his words there are. But what we faile of there, we finde performed after by *Nicephorus* <sup>ε</sup>; who hath assigned to every one of them his owne terme and time: in the which whether he be rather censured then rectified by *Petavins* <sup>a</sup>, I meane not to examine in this place and time. For howsoever at the first *Hierusalem* was not reckoned for a Patriarchall Church, as the others were: yet in regard of the opinion which was held of the place it selfe, as being honoured with the passion of our Lord and Saviour, and with the Preaching of the holy *Apostles*, and consequently reckoned for the mother City of the Christian Church; the *Bishops* of that Church were in great esteem, and the *Episcopall succession* there preserved on exact re-

<sup>c</sup> *Euseb. eccl. hist.*  
*lib. 4. cap. 5.*

<sup>ε</sup> *Niceph. Chron.*

<sup>a</sup> *Animadvers. in*  
*Epiph. hæres. 66.*

record, as in the three great *Patriarchall Sees* before remembred.

But here I meet with an Objection that must first be answered, before we see what use is made of this *Episcopall succession* by the ancient writers. For if that those who thus succeeded one another in these severall Churches, were no more then *Presbyters*, as some please to say; then must we quit the cause, and let fall the action. And though I cannot thinke that men of wit and learning, whatsoever they say, doe or can possibly conceive them to be other then *Bishops*, *Bishops* distinct from *Presbyters* both in power and title: yet we are told, and we shall see how truly<sup>i</sup>, that *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Higinus*, *Telesphorus*, and *Sixtus*, whom the Papiſts call *Bishops*, and the Popes predecessors, are by *Eusebius* termed *Presbyters*; and therefore (for what else must be the inference?) that *Bishops and Presbyters are the same*. A passage in the which there are almost as many fallacies and mistakes, as words: which I shall briefly represent, and so passe them by. For first, *Eusebius*, whom they cite, doth not call them *Presbyters*<sup>k</sup>, but *Irenaeus* in *Eusebius*; which so great *Criticks* should have seene. The difference of the Age or time when these Authors lived, maketh a great difference in the use and acceptation in the word: And I believe it cannot easily be found, whatever may be said of *Irenaeus*, that *Bishops* are called *Presbyters* by

Eu-

V.

<sup>i</sup> *Smechym* p. 23.

<sup>k</sup> *Euseb. eccl. hist.*  
l. 1. c. 24. 25.

*Eusebius*, or any writer of his time. 2. It is not evident by the Authors words, that Πρεσβύτερος is there used to denote the *Office*, but the *Age* or rather *Seniority* of those holy men, which preceded *Vicfor* in the Church of *Rome*. Or if it were, yet 3<sup>ly</sup>. it is past all question, that simply *Presbyters* they were not, though by him so called: but Πρεσβύτεροι οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, such as had had the government of that famous Church; and so were *Bish ps* at the least both in name and office. 4. The calling of them by the name of *Presbyters* doth no more conclude that *Presbyters* and *Bishops* were the same, then if a man discoursing of the state of *London*, should say, that my *Lord Major* was a wealthy *Citizen*; and thereupon a stander by should make this conclusion, that every *Citizen* is *Lord Major of London*, and hath as much to doe in the government thereof, as he. 5. The *Papists* doe not call *Higinus*, *Pius*, *Sixtus*, and the rest there mentioned, by the name of *Bishops*; or if they doe, they doe not call them so *quā* *Papists*; or if so too, and that none call them so but *Papists*, there is almost no *Father* in the Church of *Christ* who may not presently be endiured and condemned of *Popery*, because there is almost no *Father*, nor any other ancient writer, who doth not call them by that name. 6. and lastly, it is no *Popery*, nor the language of a *Papist* neither, to say that *Pius*, *Sixtus*, and the rest there named, were the Pope

Popes Predecessors: for Predecessors of the Popes they were, in their See and government, though neither in their *tyranny* nor *superstition*. Nor doth this Argument strike only at the Popes of *Rome*, though they onely named; but at all the *Bishops* of the *Primitive Church*, whether of the greater *Patriarchall Sees*, or of any other; who, if the observation of these men be good and valid, were no more but *Presbyters*. The best way to refell which fancy, is to behold the latitude and extent of that *jurisdiction* which the *Bishops* of these Churches did enjoy at this present time: which when we have layed down sincerely, according as it stood in the times we speak of, it shall be left to be considered of by any sober-minded man, who soever he be, whether the men that held such ample *jurisdiction* were no more then *Presbyters*, or whether such *Bishops* were the same with *Presbyters*, which comes both to one.

Now that the latitude of *jurisdiction* belonging to these foure *prime Sees*, especially to those of *Antioch*, *Rome*, and *Alexandria*, was as ancient as the times whereof we speake, appeareth plainly by the *Canon* of the *Nitene Councell*. For whereas it was ordered by the aforesaid Councell, <sup>d</sup>Τὰ ἀρχαία ἐν ἀετρίῳ, that ancient customes should prevaile, viz. the Churches of *Alexandria*, *Rome*, and *Antioch* should enjoy those priviledges which before they

VI.

<sup>d</sup>Concil. Nicen.  
can. 6.

they had : those priviledges or customes, call them which you will, could not of right be counted *ancient*, unlesse we place them at the latest in this second Century, the close thereof being not much above an hundred yeeres before that *Synod*. Now for those priviledges what they were, we are in part informed by the selfe same *Canon*; where it is said, <sup>c</sup> that the *jurisdiction* of the Bishop of *Alexandria* did extend over all *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and *Pentapolis* : To which though *Epiphanius* addeth *Thebais*, *Maeroticke*, and *Ammoniacke*, yet he addes nothing in effect; the two first being Provinces of *Egypt*, and the last of *Lybia* : So that his jurisdiction reached from *Gaza* in the parts of *Syria*, unto the western border of *Cyrenaike*, (for that was the *Pentapolis* mentioned in the *Canon*) where it conterminated on that of *Africk*. The *Canon* having thus layed out the bounds of the command and jurisdiction belonging unto him of *Alexandria*, proceedeth unto that of *Rome*, who had his *mos paritè*, or *æquo onibz*, an answerable latitude and extent of power. But for the certainty of this extent we must referre our selves unto *Ignatius*, directing his Epistle to the *Romans*, with this superscription, ΕΚΛΕΚΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΤΑΚΟΙΤΗΣΙ ΤΗΣ ΡΩΜΗΣ ΧΡΕΙΑΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΩΣ, to the sanctified and illuminated Church of God, presiding in the place of the *Region* of the *Romans*. If *Bellarmine* can out of this extract an Argument for the Popes

supre-

<sup>c</sup> Id. ibid.

<sup>i</sup> Epiphan. adv. her. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Ignat. in epist. ad Romanos.

<sup>3</sup> Bellar. de Rom. Pont. l. 2. c. 15.



supremacy, as he pretendeth to have done, he is a better *Chymist* then I tooke him for. And therefore I must turne him over to be better tutored by *Vedelius*, who howsoever in his notes upon that Father he leane too much on his owne affections and opinions, doth in this very well declare the good Fathers meaning, agreeably unto the tendries of antiquity. And by him<sup>1</sup> we are told, that nothing here is meant by the place or Region of the *Romans*, nisi *quicquid in Italia terrarum Præfæcti urbis administrationi suberat*; but onely those parts of *Italy*, which were directly under the civill government of the *Provoost of Rome*, that is to say, *Latium*, *Tuscia*, and *Picenum*: to which perhaps were added in the following Ages the whole East part of *Italy*, which we now call *Naples*, together with the Isles of *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicilia*, all which made up the proper *Patriarchate* of the Bishop of *Rome*. In which regard, as anciently the Bishop of *Rome* was called *Urbicus*, as doth appeare plainly by *Optatus*<sup>2</sup>, calling Pope *Zepherinus* by the name of *Zepherinus Urbicus*, the City-Bishop: so the said Provinces or Regions unto him belonging, were called by *Ruffinus*<sup>3</sup>, an *Italian* writer, *Suburbicaria Regiones*, or the City-Provinces. As for the Church of *Antiochia*, it spread its bounds and jurisdiction over those goodly Countries of the *Roman Empire*, from the *Mediterranean* on the West, unto the fur-

<sup>1</sup> *Vedel. exercit.*  
in epi. ad Ro. c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Optat. de schif.*  
*Donatist. l. 1.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ruffin. hist. eccl.*  
*lib. 1. cap. 6.*

theft border of that large dominion, where it confined upon the *Persian*, or the *Parthian* Kingdome; together with *Cilicia* and *Isauria* in the lesser *Asia*: but whether at this time it was so extended, I am not able to determine. Certaine I am that in the very first beginning of this Age, all *Syria* at the least was under the jurisdiction of this *Bishop*: *Ignatius*, in his said Epistle to those of *Rome*<sup>\*</sup>, stiling himselfe τὸν ἐπισκοπὸν Συρίας, (not a Bishop in *Syria*, but) the *Bishop of Syria*: which sheweth, that there being many Bishops in that large Province, he had a power and superiority over all the rest. Indeed the Bishops of *Hierusalem* were hedged within a narrower compasse; being both now and long time after subject unto the *Metropolitan* of *Cæsarea*<sup>1</sup>, as appeares plainly by the *Nicene Canon*: though after they enlarged their border, and gained the title of a *Patriarch*, as we may see hereafter in convenient time. Only I adde, that howsoever other of the greater *Metropolitan* Churches, such as were absolute and independent, as *Carthage*, *Cyprus*, *Millaine*, the Church of *Britaine*, and the rest, had and enjoyed all manner of *Patriarchall* rights which these three enjoyed: yet onely the three Bishops of *Rome*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, had in the Primitive times the names of *Patriarches*, by reason of the greatnesse of the Cities themselves, being the principall both for power and riches in the *Roman Empire*,

<sup>\*</sup> *Ignat. ad Rom.*

<sup>1</sup> *Concil. Ni. C. 7.*

pire, the one for *Europe*, the other for *Asia*, and the third for *Africk*.

This ground thus laid we will behold what use is made of this *Episcopall succession* by the ancient writers. And first Saint *Irenæus*, a Bishop and a Martyr both, derives an argument from hence to convince those *Hereticks*, which broached strange Doctrines in the Church. *"Habemus annumerari eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, &c."* we are able to produce those men which were ordained *Bishops* by the *Apostles*, in their severall Churches; and their successors till our times; *qui nihil tale docuerunt neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur*, who neither knew nor taught any such absurdities as these men dream of. Which said in generall, he instanceth in the particular Churches of *Rome*, *Ephesus* and *Smyrna*, being all founded by the *Apostles*: and all of them, *hac ordinatione & successione*, by this *Episcopall* ordination and succession, deriving from the *Apostles*, the Preaching and tradition of Gods holy truth till those very times. The like we finde also in another place, where speaking of those *Presbyters*, (so he calleth the *Bishops*), which claimed a succession from the *Apostles*, he tels us this, *quod cum Episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum Patris acceperunt*, that together with the *Episcopall* succession, they had received a certaine

VII.

*"Iren. contr. har.  
lib. 3. cap. 3."*

*"Ir. adv. heres.  
lib. 4. cap. 43."*

they had : those priviledges or customes, call them which you will, could not of right be counted *ancient*, unlesse we place them at the latest in this second Century, the close thereof being not much above an hundred yeeres before that *Synod*. Now for those priviledges what they were, we are in part informed by the selfe same *Canon*; where it is said, <sup>c</sup> that the *jurisdiction* of the Bishop of *Alexandria* did extend over all *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and *Pentapolis* : To which though *Epiphanius* addeth *Thebais*, *Marasitica*, and *Ammoniaca*, yet he addes nothing in effect; the two first being Provinces of *Egypt*, and the last of *Lybia* : So that his jurisdiction reached from *Gaza* in the parts of *Syria*, unto the western border of *Cyrenaiica*; (for that was the *Pentapolis* mentioned in the *Canon*) where it conterminated on that of *Africk*. The *Canon* having thus layed out the bounds of the command and jurisdiction belonging unto him of *Alexandria*, proceedeth unto that of *Rome*, who had his *mos paritè*, or *τὸ αὐτὸ*, an answerable latitude and extent of power. But for the certainty of this extent we must referre our selves unto <sup>e</sup> *Ignatius*, directing his Epistle to the *Romans*, with this superscription, *Εκκλησία ἁγιομένη καὶ φωτισμένη, ἐν τῷ χριστῷ Ρωμαίων*, to the sanctified and illuminated Church of God, presiding in the place of the *Region* of the *Romans*. If <sup>b</sup> *Bellarmino* can out of this extract an Argument for the Popes supre-

<sup>c</sup> *Id ibid.*

<sup>e</sup> *Epiphan. adv. her. 68.*

<sup>e</sup> *Ignat. in epist. ad Romanos.*

<sup>b</sup> *Beilar. d. d. Rom. Pont. l. 2. c. 15.*

supremacy, as he pretendeth to have done, he is a better *Chymist* then I tooke him for. And therefore I must turne him over to be better tutored by *Vedelius*, who howsoever in his notes upon that Father he leane too much on his owne affections and opinions, doth in this very well declare the good Fathers meaning, agreeably unto the tendries of antiquity. And by him<sup>1</sup> we are told, that nothing here is meant by the place or Region of the *Romans*, nisi *quicquid in Italia terrarum Præfecti urbis administrationi suberat*; but onely those parts of *Italy*, which were directly under the civill government of the *Provest* of *Rome*, that is to say, *Latium*, *Tuscia*, and *Picenum*: to which perhaps were added in the following Ages the whole East part of *Italy*, which we now call *Naples*, together with the Isles of *Corfica*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicilia*, all which made up the proper *Patriarchate* of the Bishop of *Rome*. In which regard, as anciently the Bishop of *Rome* was called *Urbicæ*, as doth appeare plainly by *Optatus*<sup>2</sup>, calling Pope *Zepherinus* by the name of *Zepherinus Urbicus*, the City-Bishop: so the said Provinces or Regions unto him belonging, were called by *Ruffinus*<sup>3</sup>, an *Italian* writer, *Suburbicaria Regiones*, or the City-Provinces. As for the Church of *Antiochia*, it spread its bounds and jurisdiction over those goodly Countries of the *Roman* Empire, from the *Mediterranean* on the West, unto the fur-

<sup>1</sup> *Vedel. exercit. in epi. ad Ro. c. 2.*

<sup>2</sup> *Optat. de schif. Donatist. l. 1.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ruffin. hist. eccl. lib. 1. cap. 6.*

theft border of that large dominion, where it confined upon the *Persian*, or the *Parthian* Kingdome; together with *Cilicia* and *Isauria* in the leffer *Asia*: but whether at this time it was so extended, I am not able to determine. Certaine I am that in the very first beginning of this Age, all *Syria* at the least was under the jurisdiction of this *Bishop*: *Ignatius*, in his said Epistle to those of *Rome*\*, styling himselſe τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας, (not a Bishop in *Syria*, but) the *Bishop of Syria*: which sheweth, that there being many Bishops in that large Province, he had a power and superiority over all the rest. Indeed the Bishops of *Hierusalem* were hedged within a narrower compasse; being both now and long time after subject unto the *Metropolitan* of *Cæsarea*<sup>1</sup>, as appeares plainly by the *Nicene Canon*: though after they enlarged their border, and gained the title of a *Patriarch*, as we may see hereafter in convenient time. Only I adde, that howsoever other of the greater *Metropolitan* Churches, such as were absolute and independent, as *Carthage*, *Cyprus*, *Millaine*, the Church of *Britaine*, and the rest, had and enjoyed all manner of *Patriarchall* rights which these three enjoyed: yet onely the three Bishops of *Rome*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, had in the Primitive times the names of *Patriarches*; by reason of the greatnesse of the Cities themselves, being the principall both for power and riches in the *Roman Empire*,

\* *Ignat. ad Rom.*\* *Council. Nic. C. 7.*



pire, the one for *Europe*, the other for *Asia*, and the third for *Africk*.

This ground thus laid we will behold what use is made of this *Episcopall Succession* by the ancient writers. And first Saint *Irenaus*, a Bishop and a Martyr both, derives an argument from hence to convince those *Hereticks*, which broached strange Doctrines in the Church. *"Habemus annumerari eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, &c.* we are able to produce those men which were ordained *Bishops* by the *Apostles* in their severall Churches, and their successors till our times; *qui nihil tale docuerunt neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur*, who neither knew nor taught any such absurdities as these men dream of. Which said in generall, he infranceth in the particular Churches of *Rome*, *Ephesus* and *Smyrna*, being all founded by the *Apostles*: and all of them, *hac ordinatione & successione*, by this *Episcopall* ordination and succession, deriving from the *Apostles*, the Preaching and tradition of Gods holy truth till those very times. The like we finde also in another place, where speaking of those *Presbyteri*, (so he calleth the *Bishops*) which claimed a succession from the *Apostles*, he tels us this, *quod cum Episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum Patris acceperunt*, that together with the *Episcopall* succession, they had received a certaine

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lib. 3. cap. 3.*

*"Ir. adv. hares.  
4. cap. 43.*

<sup>o</sup>Smectym p. 23.

pledge of truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father. See to this purpose also cap. 63. where the same point is pressed most fully, and indeed much unto the honour of this *Episcopall succession*. Where because *Irenaeus* called *Bishops* in the former place by the name of *Presbyters*, I would have no man gather, as some men<sup>o</sup> have done, that he doth use the name of *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, *adnauius* in a promiscuous sense, much lesse conclude, that therefore *Presbyters* and *Bishops* were then the same. For although *Irenaeus* doth here call the *Bishops*, either by reason of their age, or of that common ordination which they once received, by the name of *Presbyters*, yet he doth no where call the *Presbyters* by the name of *Bishops*: as he must needs have done, if he did use the names *adnauius* in a promiscuous sense, as it is supposed. And besides *Irenaeus* being at this time *Bishop*, if not *Archbishop* of the Church of *Lyons*, could not but know that he was otherwise advanced both in power and title, as well in *Dignity* as *Jurisdiction*, then when he was a *Presbyter* of that very Church, under *Pothinus* his Predecessour in that See: and therefore not the same man meerly which he was before. But to let passe as well the observation as the inference, certain I am that by this argument the holy Father did conceive himselfe to be armed sufficiently against the *Hereticks* of his time, and so much he expresseth

seth plainly, saying, that by this weapon he was able to confound all those, *qui quoquo modo vel per sui placentiam malam, vel vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitatem & malam sententiam, præterquam oportet, colligunt*: Pwho any way, either out of an evill self-complacency, or vain glorious humour, or blindness of the minde, or a depraved understanding, did raise such Doctrines as they ought not. So much for blessed *Irenæus*, a man of peace as well in disposition and affection, as he was in name.

Next let us looke upon *Tertullian*, who lived in the same time with *Irenæus*, beginning first to be of credit about the latter end of this second Century, as *Baronius* calculates it; and being at the height of reputation, *an. 210.* as *Pamellus* noteth, about which time Saint *Irenæus* suffered martyrdom. And if we looke upon him well, we finde him pressing the same point, with greater efficacy, then *Irenæus* did before him. For undertaking to convince the Hereticks of his time, as well of falshood as of novelties, and to make known the new upstartdnesse of their Assemblies (which they called the Church) hee doth thus proceed. *Edant ergo origine recalescentium suorum, evoluant ordinem Episcoporum suorum, &c.* Let them, saith he, declare the originall of their Churches, let them unfold the course or order of their *Bishops*, succeeding

*Iren. adv. hæres.*  
l. 3. c. 3. i

## VIII.

*Baron. ann. eccl.*  
anno 196.

*Pamell. in vita*  
*Tertull.*

*Tertull. de præf.*  
*adv. hæres. c. 33.*

ding so to one another from the first begin-  
 ning, that their first *Bishop* (whosoever he  
 was) had some of the *Apostles* or of the *A-*  
*postolicall* men at least who did converse  
 with the *Apostles*, to be their founder and  
 Predecessour. For thus the *Apostolicall*  
 Churches doe derive their Pedegree. Thus  
 doth the Church of *Smyna* shew their *Poly-*  
*carpus* placed there amongst them by Saint  
*John*; and *Rome* her *Clement* consecrated or  
 ordained by *Peter*: even as all other *Chur-*  
*ches* also doe exhibit to us the names of  
 those, who being ordained *Bishops* by the  
*Apostles* did sow the *Apostolicall* seed in the  
 field of God. This was the challenge that  
 he made; And this he had not done assuredly,  
 had he not thought that the *Episcopall* *successi-*  
*on* in the Church of Christ, had been an evi-  
 dent demonstration of the truth thereof:  
 which since the *Herticks* could not shew in  
 their Congregations or Assemblies, it was a ve-  
 ry pregnant evidence, that they had neither  
 verity nor antiquity, to defend their Doctrins;  
 nor could with any shew of Justice challenge  
 to themselves the name and honour of a  
 Church. And such, and none but such, were  
 those other Churches which he after speaketh  
 of, viz. of *Corinth*, *Philippi*, *Thessalonica*, *E-*  
*phesus* and the rest planted by the *Apostles*, and  
*quasi ipse Cerebra Apostolorum, sua locis presi-*  
*dentur*, in which the Chaires of the *Apostles* to  
 that

Id. ibid. ca. 76.

that time were sate in, being possessed, not by themselves, but by their *Successors*. By the same argument *Optatus* first, and after him *St. Austin* did confound the *Donatists*, that mighty faction in the Church. *St. Austin* thus: *numerate Sacerdotes vel ab ipsa sede Petri, & in illo ordine quis cui successerit videte*. Number the *Bishops* which have sate but in *Peters Chair*; and marke who have succeeded one another in the same. A Catalogue of which he gives \*us in another place, lest else he might be thought to prescribe that to others, on which he would not trust himselfe. Nay so farre he relyed on the authority of this *Episcopall Succession* in the Church of Christ, as that he makes it one of the speciall motives, *quia cum in gremio Ecclesie iustissime teneant*, which did continue him in the bosome of the *Catholick Church*. As for *Optatus*, having laid down a Catalogue of the *Bishops* in the Church of *Rome*, till his own times: he makes a challenge to the *Donatists* to present the like, *Vestra Cathedra originem edite*; shew us, saith he, the first originall of your *Bishops*, and then you have done somewhat to advance your cause: In which it is to be observed, that though the instance be made onely in the *Episcopall Succession* of the Church of *Rome*, the argument holds good in all others also: it being too troublesome a labour, as *Irenaeus*<sup>a</sup> well observed, *omnium Ecclesiarum enumerare successiones*, to run through

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\* *August. contr. Petri. l. 2.*

\* *Id. Epi. 165.*

\* *Id. contr. Epi. Manichaei. c. 4.*

\* *Optat. de schif. Donat. l. 2.*

\* *Ire. adv. hae. lib. 3. cap. 3.*

IX.

the succession of all particular Churches; and there'ore that made choyse of, as the chiefe or principal.

But to return again unto *Tertullian*, whom I account amongst the writers of this age; though he lived partly in the other; besides the use he made of this *Episcopall succession*, to convince the *Heretick*, he shews us also what authority the *Bishops* of the Church did severally enjoy and exercise in their *successions*: which we will take according to the proper and most naturall course of *Christianity*. First for the Sacrament of *Baptisme*, which is the doore or entrance into the Church, <sup>b</sup>*Dandi quidem jus habet summus sacerdos. i. e. Episcopus.* The right, saith he, of giving *Baptisme* hath the high-Priest, which is the Bishop, and then the Presbyters and Deacons; *non tamen sine Episcopi autoritate*, yet not without the Bishops licence and authority, for the Churches honour; which if it be preserved, then is peace maintained. Nay so farre he appropriates it unto the Bishop, as that hee calleth it *dictatum Episcopi, officium Episcopatus*, a work most proper to the Bishop, in regard of his *Episcopacie*, or particular office: Which howsoever it may seem to ascribe too much unto the Bishop in the administration of this Sacrament, is no more verily then what was after affirmed by *Hierome*, shewing that in his time *sine Episcopi jussione*, without the warrant of the

<sup>b</sup> *Tertull. lib. de Baptism. c. 17.*

<sup>c</sup> *Hieron. advers. Lucifer.*



the Bishop, neither the *Presbyters* nor the *Deacons* had any authority to *Baptize*: not that I think, that in the dayes of *Hierom*, before whose time *Parishes* were assigned to *Presbyters* throughout the Church, the B<sup>s</sup> special consent & warrant was requisite to the baptizing<sup>o</sup> of each severall infant; but that the *Presbyters* & *Deacons* did receive from him some generall faculty, for their enabling in and to those ministrations. Next for the Sacrament of the blessed *Eucharist*, that which is a chiefe part of that heavenly nourishment by which a *Christian* is brought up in the assured hopes of eternall life, he tels us in another place, <sup>d</sup>*non de aliorum manuquam Presidentium sumimus*, that they received it only from their Bishops hand; the *Presb*<sup>er</sup> or President of the *Presbytery*, as *Justin Martyr*, second<sup>d</sup> by *Beza*, did before call him. Which exposition or construction lest it should be quarrelled as being injurious to the *Presbyters*, who are thereby excluded from the honour and name of *Presidents*: I shall desire the Reader to consult those other places of *Tertullian*, in which the word<sup>e</sup> *President* is used, as *viz. lib. ad uxorem* and *lib. de Monogamia*, in both of which the man that had a second wife is said to be disabled from *Presiding* in the Church of God; and on consideration to determine of it, whether it be more probable that *Presbyters* or *Bishops* be here meant by *Presidents*. Besides

<sup>d</sup> *Tertull. de Coron. Militis.*

<sup>e</sup> *Prescriptio Apostoli, digamos non sinis presidere. Tert. ad uxorem.*

the Church not being yet divided generally into *Parishes*, but only in some greater Cities, the Presbyter had not got the stile of *Rector*, and therefore much lesse might be called a President, that being a word of power and government, which at that time the Presbyters enjoyed not in the Congregation. And here Pope *Leo* will come in to help us, if occasion be, assuring us that in his time<sup>f</sup> it was not lawfull for the Presbyter in the Bishops presence, *nisi illo jubente*, unlesse it were by his appointment, *consecrare Sacramentum corporis & sanguinis Christi*, to consecrate the Sacrament of Christs body and blood. The author of the Tract ascribed to *Hierome*, entituled *de Septem Ecclesia ordinibus*, doth affirme as much: but being the author of it is uncertaine, though it be placed by *Erasmus* amongst the *Jewish* *doctores*, we will passe it by.

<sup>f</sup> *Leo Epist.* 88.

X.

From the Administration of the Sacraments, which doe belong *ad potestatem ordinis*, to the power of order; proceed we on to those which doe appertaine *ad potestatem jurisdictionis*, unto the power of Jurisdiction. And the first thing we meet with, is the appointing of the *publick Fasts*, used often in the Church, as occasion was. A priviledge not granted to the common *Presbyter*, & much lesse to the common people; but in those times, wherein the *Supreme Magistrate* was not within the pale or bosome of the Church, entrusted

to

to the *Bishop* onely. This noted also by *Tertullian*, in his book entituled *de jejuniis*; which though he writ after his falling from the Church, and so not to be trusted in a point of doctrine, may very well be credited in a point of custome: *Quod & Episcopi universa plebi mandare jejunia assolent, non dico de industria scriptum conferendarum, sed ex aliqua sollicitudinis ecclesie causa*; That *Bishops* use to impose fasts upon the people, is not done of purpose for lucre, or the Almes then given, but out of a regard of the Churches welfare, or the sollicitousnesse which they have thereof. Wherein as he removes a cavill, which as it seemes was cast upon the Church, about the calling of those fasts: so, plainely he ascribes the calling of them to the *Bishop* onely; according unto whose appointment, *in unum omnes convenerunt* ~~et~~ *agitant*, they met together for the humbling of themselves before God the Lord. So for disposing of the Churches treasure (for *Menstrua quaque die modicam quisque stipem vel quam velit*, every moneth the people used to bring their offerings, as we call them now, every man as he would and could) that also appertained unto the *Bishop*. Which as it was distributed most commonly amongst the *Clergy*, for their present maintenance; so was it in the *Bishops* power to bestow part thereof upon other uses, as in reliefe of *widowes* and *poore Virgins*: which appears plainely in that

<sup>5</sup> *Tertull. lib. de  
jejuniis c. 13.*

<sup>6</sup> *Id. in Apol. c.*

<sup>1</sup> *Tertul. de  
Virg. veland.  
cap. 9.*

place and passage of *Tertullian*<sup>1</sup>, in his booke *de Virginibus velandis*: where speaking of a *Virgin* which contrary to the custome of the Church had been admitted into the ranke of *widowes*, he addes, *cui si quid refrigerii debuerat Episcopus*, that if the *Bishop* did intend to allow her any thing towards her reliefe and maintenance, he might have done it without trespassing on the Churches discipline, and setting up so strange a monster as a *Virgin-widow*. And this is that which after was confirmed in the Councell of *Antioch*<sup>2</sup>, where it is said, *Επισκοπος ἔχει τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας διακονίαν ἰσχυρῶς*, that the *Bishop* ought to have authority in the disposing of the things (or goods) that appertained unto the Church; *ὥστε διατεῖν ἕκαστῳ τὰς ἀναγκαίους*, that so he might dispose them unto such as stood in need, in the feare of God.

<sup>2</sup> *Conc. Antioch.  
Can. 25.*

## XI.

<sup>1</sup> *Tertull. de pu-  
dicitia, cap. 18.*

Finally, for the *reconciling* of a *Penitent* to the Church of God, in the remitting of his sinnes, and bringing of him backe to the fold againe; that in *Tertullians*<sup>1</sup> time was a *Peculiar* of the *Bishop* also. For, speaking of repentance after faith received (*de pœnitentia post fidem*, as he calls it) he is content to give this *efficacy* thereunto, though otherwise he held, being then a *Montanist*, that heinous sinners after Grace received were not to be admitted to repentance; I say he is content to give this *efficacy* thereunto, that for smaller sinnes it may obtaine pardon or remission from the *Bishop*; for

for greater and unpardonable, from God alone. But take his owne words with you for the greater surety, and his words are these; *viz. Salva illa pœnitentie specie post fidem, quæ aut levioribus delictis veniam ab Episcopo consequi potest, aut majoribus & irremissabilibus à Deo solo.* In which *Pamelius* seems to wonder at his moderation, as being of a better temper in this point, then was *Montanus*, into whose sect he now was fallen: who would have no man to make confession of his sinnes to any other then to God, and seek for reconciliation from no hands but from his alone. And in another place <sup>n</sup> of the same book also, although he seem to jeer and deride the usage, he granteth that the *Bishops* of the Christian Church did usuallly remit even the greatest sinnes, upon the performance of the Penance formerly enjoined: For thus he bringeth in the *Bishop*, whom in the way of scorn he calleth *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Episcopus Episcoporum*, proclaiming as it were a generall pardon to such as had performed their Penance; *Ego & moechiæ & fornicationis delicta poenitenti suntis dimitto*, that he remitted to all such even the sinnes of Fornication and Adultery. Which words of his, declare not more his error, then the *Bishops* power in this particular. What interest the *Preshyters* of the Church did either challenge or enjoy in this weighty businesse of reconciling *Penitents* to the Lord their God,

<sup>n</sup> *Pamel. Annot. prædict. lib. 159*

<sup>n</sup> *Tertul. lib. de Pudicit. cap. 1.*

we shall see hereafter, when as the same began to be in practise, and was by them put in execution. Mean time I take it for a manifest and undoubted truth, that properly, originally, and in chief, it did belong unto the *Bishop* both to enjoyn penance, and admit the penitent, and not to the inferiour *Presbyters*, but as they had authority by and under him. Which lest I may be thought to affirme at random, let us behold the manner of this reconciliation, as layed downe by *Sozomen*<sup>o</sup>, not as relating to his owne times, but to the times whereof we speake : *ἵσταν δὲ ἡγουμένους ἐκείνων ἀνδράσις*, &c. They stand, saith he, in an appointed place, sorrowfull and lamented, and when the Eucharist is ended, whereof they are not suffered to be partakers, they cast themselves with grief and lamentation flat upon the ground. *Ἀρτὶ οὐκ ἔσθωσι δὲ διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῷ ὄνοματι*, The Bishop then approaching towards him, kneeleth also by him on the ground, and all the multitude also doe the like, with great griefe and ejulation. *Τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐκείνων ἐκείνους*, This done, the Bishop riseth first, and gently raiseth up the prostrate penitent, and having prayed for those that are thus in the state of penance, as much as he thinkes fit and requisite, they are dismissed for the present : And being thus dismissed, every man privately, at home, doth afflict himself, either by fasting, or by abstinence from meates and Bathes for a certaine time,

<sup>o</sup> *Sozomen. Ecc.  
hist. l. 7, c. 16.*



ὡς ὁ δὲν αὐτῷ τὴν χάρις ἔπεισεν; as long as by the Bishop is enjoyed him. Which time appointed being come, and his Penance in this sort performed, he is absolved from his sinnes, ἐπιτεταρτὸν δὲ τὴν χάρις ἀναστρέφει, and joyned againe unto the residue of the Congregation. And this, saith he, hath been the custome of the western Church; and especially of the Church of Rome, ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, from the very first beginning, to this present time. So that both in the Cātie of Rome, in which *Tertullian* sometimes lived, and in the western Church, whereof he was a member, being a Presbyter of *Carthage*; and in the times in which he flourished, for thus it was from the beginning: the Bishop regularly had the power both of joyning penance, & reconciling of the Penitent as it still continueth: Nor doth that passage in *Tertull.* any way crosse the point delivered, where speaking of the severall acts of humiliation which were to be performed by the Penitent, before he could be reconciled to the Church of God, he reckoneth these amongst the rest, *Presbyteris advolutaris, or caris Dei adgeniculari*, (for whether of the two it is *adhuc sub iudice*) *omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis sue iungere*; to cast themselves before the Presbyters, to kneele before the Altars, or the Saints of God, to intreate the prayers of all the brethen. Where cleerly; there is nothing ascribed unto the Presbyters as in the way of reconciliation;

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but

*Tertull. lib. de  
Poenitent. c. 9.*

but only in the way of intercession, as unto other of the brethren: the maine worke being still reserved unto the *Bishop*.

XII.

*Adin. Apol. 39*

I know indeed *Tertullian* is alledged by some, as if there were a government of the Church at that time in use, in the which neither the *Bishop* nor the *Presbyters* did beare the greatest stroke; but a society of *lay-elders*, or (if we may admit of such a Monster both in sense and Grammar) a *lay Presbytery*. The place or passage commonly alledged to make good the same, is that in his *Apologick* for the Christian Church, where having shewed the mannner of the Christian meetings in their Congregations, for prayer and hearing of Gods word, he addeth, that there are also exhortations, chaistisements, and divine censures, judgement being executed with great advise. Then followeth, *Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti*; the *Presidents* of our meetings are approved *Seniors*, or *Elders* (call them which you will) who have obtained this honour not by money, but by good report. So he: And those whom he calls *seniores*, elders, they will needs have to be such Elders as they dream of, men of the *Lolly*, taken in to day, and put out to morrow. A thing which better might become the *Contentious* of the *Heresick* and *Sellary*, then the Church of Christ.

And

And as it seems amongst the *Hereticks* and *Se-  
ctaries* such a course there was, *hodie Presbyter  
quicras Laicus*, that he which was to day an  
*Elder*, was on the next day to revert to his oc-  
cupation; this day an *Elder* in the *Consistory*,  
the next a *Butcher* on the *stall*. The *Christian*  
Church had no such custome, what ever might  
be found amongst the *Marcionites*; if then  
it be demanded who these *Seniors* were, which  
are here said to have *presided* in their *Congre-  
gations*; I answer that they were the *Bishops*:  
those at whose hands, *de manu Presbiterium*,  
the people used in those times to receive the  
Sacrament. *Lay-men* they could not bee,  
though called simply *Elders*, because they did  
administer the blessed *Eucharist*: and simply  
*Presbyters* they were not, and they could not  
be, because it is there said that they did *preside*,  
and had the power of *Censure* and *Correction*,  
which are the works and badges of authority.  
It then remains they were the *Bishops*, the *Pre-  
sidents* or *Heads* of the Church of *Christ*, such  
as we finde described before by *Justin Martyr*,  
and are affirmed by *B. &c.* to be such as *Timothy*  
whom we have proved to be a *Bishop*. And  
this appeares to me yet further by the words  
themselves, in which we finde that those who  
did attaine that honour got it by good report,  
and not by money. And this may very well  
be, might the *Gentiles* say, had it been spo-  
ken of the *Presbyters*, for who would give

*Id. de Prescr.  
haer. l. 41.*

money for so poore an office, wherein there was but litle to be gotten, more then ones labour for his pains; or at the best some bare allowance from the *sportula*, and that too on the *Bishops* curtesie? When we can heare you say the like of *Bishops*, through whose hands the money went, who had the keeping and disposing of the *common Treasury*, and might enrich themselves by the spoyle thereof; you then say somewhat to the purpose. Till then it makes but litle to the praise of your integrity and candour, that such poore men whose places were not worth the having, should pay nothing for them. This makes it evident to me that the Elders mentioned here, were not simply *Presbyters*; but such whose places were esteemed to be both of Means and Credit; and therefore doubtlesse they were *Bishops*, that did so *preside*. Nor is it any prejudice to the truth thereof, that they are called *Seniores* in the *plurall* number: *Tertullian* speaking not in the behalfe of a particular Church or *City*, wherein could be one *Bishop* only; but pleading in the behalfe of the universall, wherein there were as many *Presidents*, or *Bishops*, or *Presiding Elders*, call them which you will, as there were *Cities* gained to the Faith of *Christ*.

XIII.

Now if we please to take a view of the extent of Christianity, according as it stood in the present *Century*, we cannot better doe it, then by a place and passage of *Tertullian*, who  
very

very fully hath described the same in his *Apologestick*; presented to the *Magistrates* of the *Roman Empire*, in the last yeere thereof, or the next yeere after, as is affirmed both by *Pamelius* and *Baronius* out of ancient writers: For having shewne that *Christians* were not to avenge themselves upon their persecuters, or to take Arms for the repelling of those injuries which were offered to them, he doth thus proceed: "*Si enim & hostes exertos, &c.*" For should we shew our selves, saith he, to be open enemies unto the State, should we want either strength or numbers? Behold what mischief is done daily to you by the *Noares, Marcomannians*, and those of *Parthia*, Masters of a few Countries onely, whereas the *Christians* are diffused over all the world; you count us *Aliens* or strangers to you, & "*vestra omnia implevimus*", yet we have filled all places that are yours, Cities, Isles, Castles, Burrowes, your places of Assembly, Camps, Tribes, Palaces, the very Senate, and the Market place, with our numerous troopes. Onely your Temples are your owne, &c. Nay, should we onely goe away from you, and retire into some remote corner of the world, and carry all our families with us, "*Suffuderet utique dominationem vestram tot qualiumcunque amissio civium*", the losse of so many of your people, how ill soever you conceive of them, would be so shrewd a

<sup>1</sup> *Pamel. in vita Tertull.*

<sup>2</sup> *Bar. in Annal.*

<sup>3</sup> *Tertullian in Apologest. c. 37.*

"weakening unto your dominions, that you  
 "would tremble at that strange desertion, and  
 "be astonish'd at the solitude and silence of  
 "your emptied Cities, quite destitute of men  
 "to be commanded; there being more enemies  
 "then Citizens remaining in them. Whereas  
 "now, God be thanked, you have the fewer  
 "enemies amongst you, in that you have so  
 "many *Christians*, *pene omnes ciues Christianos*  
 "*habendo*, most of your people being of that  
 "Religion. Which as it shewes the great ex-  
 tent of *Christianity* in *Tertullian's* time, so doth  
 it shew a like extent also of *Episcopacy*; there  
 being no place where *Christianity* had been re-  
 ceived, wherein *Episcopacy* was not planted al-  
 so. Which lest it might be taken for a bold as-  
 sertion, without ground or truth, I shall crave  
 leave to step a little out of this present *Century*,  
 and borrow a testimony from *S. Cyprian*, who  
 is next to follow; and if he may be credited,  
 will affirme no lesse: For by him we are told  
 of a certain truth, \* *per omnes Provincias & per*  
*urbes singulas ordinatos esse Episcopos*, that in all  
 Provinces and in every City *Bishops* had long  
 since been ordained, reverend for their age,  
 for their faith sincere, tried in affliction, and  
 proscribed in time of persecution. Nor doth  
 he speake this of his owne time onely, which  
 was somewhat after, but as a matter of some  
 standing, *cum jam pridem per omnes provincias*,  
 that so it had been long agoe: and therefore  
 must

\* *Cyprian* E. 52.



must needs be so doubtlesse in this present Age being not long before his owne. And this extent of *Christianity* I doe observe the rather in this place and time, because that in the Age which followeth (the multitudes of *Christians* being so increased) we may perhaps behold a new face of things: the times becoming quicker and more full of action; *Parishes* or *Parochiall* Churches set out in Country-villages and townes, and severall *Presbyters* allotted to them; with an addition also both of trust and power unto the *Presbyters* themselves in the *Cure of Soules*, committed to them by their *Bishops*; with many other things which concerne this businesse. And therefore here we will conclude this present *Century*, proceeding forward to the next in the name of God.

must needs be established in this order. Age  
 must not be the only rule, for his own  
 mind, by long study, may be so improved  
 as to be able to judge of things that are  
 which followeth (the number of Christians  
 being increased) we may perhaps desire a  
 new sort of things: the time is coming  
 when we shall be able to do more  
 variety of good than in former villages  
 and towns, and several things are allotted to  
 them, with an addition also of land and  
 power to the parson, besides in the  
 country, where committed to his charge  
 many other things which concern  
 his parish. And therefore here we will  
 conclude this part of our proceeding for  
 ward to the next in the year of God.

## CHAP. IV.

Of the authority in the government of the Church of *Carthage*, enjoyed and exercised by *S. Cyprian* and other Bishops of the same.

I. *Of the Foundation and preheminences of the Church of Carthage.*

II. *Of Agrippinus and Donatus two of S. Cyprian's Predecessors.*

III. *The troublesome condition of that Church, at Cyprian's first being Bishop there.*

IV. *Necessitated him to permit some things to the discretion of his Presbyters, and consent of the People.*

V. *Of the authority ascribed by Cyprian to the people, in the Election of their Bishop.*

VI. *What power the people had de facto, in the said Elections.*

VII. *How far the testimony of the people was required in the Ordination of their Presbyters.*

VIII. *The power of Excommunication reserved by S. Cyprian, to the Bishop only.*

IX. *No Reconciliation of a Penitent allowed by Cyprian without the Bishops leave and licence.*

X. *The Bishop's power as well in the encouragement, as in the punishment, and censure of his Clergy.*

XI. *The memorable case of Geminus Faustinus, one of the Presbyters of Carthage.*

XII. *The Bishop's power in regulating and declaring Martyrs.*

XIII. *The Divine right, and eminent authority of Bishops fully asserted by S. Cyprian.*

(a) Hieron. de  
Scriptor. Eccl. in  
Tertull.

**S**AINT Hierome (a) tells us of S. Cyprian, that hee esteemed so highly of Tertullian's writings, that he never suffered any day to passe over his head, without reading somewhat in the same; and that he did oft use to say, when hee demanded for his works, *Da mihi magistrum*, reach mee my Tutor or Preceptor. So that considering the good opinion which S. Cyprian, had harboured of the man, for his wit and learning, and the neerenesse of the time in which they lived; being both also members of the same Church, the one a *Presbyter*, the other *Bishop* of the Church of *Carthage*: We will passe on unto S. Cyprian, and to those monuments of piety and learning, which he left behind him. And this we shal the rather do, because there is no author of the Primitive times, out of whose works we have such ample treasures of Ecclesiasticall antiquities, as we have in his; none who can gave us better light, for the discovery of the truth in the present search, than that blessed *Martyr*? But first, before wee come to the man himselfe, wee will a little looke upon his charge, on the Church of *Carthage*; as well

well before, as at his comming to be *Bishop* of it : the knowledge of the which will give speciall light to our following businesse. And first for the foundation of the Church of *Carthage*, (b) if *Metaphrastes* may be credited, it was the action of Saint *Peter*, who leaving *Rome*, at such time as the *Jewes* were banished thence by the Decree of *Claudius Caesar*, in *Africam* navigasse & *Carthaginensem* erexisse *Ecclesiam*, is by him said to saile to *Africa*, and there to found the Church of *Carthage*, leaving behind him *Crescens* one of his Disciples, to be the *Bishop* of the same: But whether this be so or not, it is out of question, that the Church of *Carthage* was not only of great Antiquity ; but that it also was of great power and credit ; as being the *Metropolitan* Church of *Africa*, the *Bishop* of the same being the *Primate* of all *Africa*, properly so called, together with *Numidia*, and both the *Mauritanias*, as well *Casariensis* as *Sitifensis* : So witnesseth S. *Cyprian* himselfe, (c) *Latius fusa est nostra Provincia ; habet enim Numidiam & Mauritanias duas sibi coherentes*, as his own words are. And this appeareth also by the subscription of the *Bishops* to the Councell of *Carthage*, (d) convented ex *Provincia Africa, Numidia, Mauritania*, as is most cleare on the record. For whereas antiently the *Roman Empire* was divided into foureteen *Dioceses*, reckoning the *Prefecture* of the City of *Rome* for one ; every *Diocese* being subdivided into severall *Provinces*, as was said before, (e) the *Diocese* of *Africa* was not of the meanest, containing in it

(b) Cited by Baronius in *Annal. Eccl. Anno* 51.

(c) *Cypri: Ep. 45*

(d) *Concil. Tom. p. 149. Edit. sinu.*

(e) *Notitia Provinciarum.*

six large Provinces, and reaching from the greater Syrtis Eastward, where it confined upon the Patriarchat of *Alexandria* to *Mauritania Tingitana*, on the West, which did belong unto the *Diocese* of *Spaine*. Now *Carthage* standing in that Province, which was called *Zengitana*, or *Proconsularis*, and being the Seate or Residence of the *Vicarius*, or Lieutenant Generall of the *Roman Empire* for that *Diocese*: the *Bishop* of it was not only the *Metropolitan* of his own Province; but the *Primate* also, in regard of the other five, which were *Tripolitana*, *Byzacena*, *Numidia*, and the two *Mauritanias* before remembred. Nor was he only the supream *Bishop* in regard of them, but also absolute and independent in regard of others: as being neither subject or subordinate to the Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, though the prime City of all *Africa*, nor to the *Popes* of *Rome*, the Queen and Emperresse of the world; against whose machinations (f) and attempts, the Church of *Carthage* for a long time did maintaine her liberty.

(f) Concil. carthaginien. 6.

II.

Such being the authority and power of the Church of *Carthage*, we must next looke upon the *Bishops* of the same; who though they had not got the name of *Patriarchs*, as those of *Antioch*, *Rome*, and *Alexandria* now had; and they of *Constantinople* and *Hierusalem*, shall bee found have in the times succeeding; yet had they all manner of *Patriarchall* jurisdiction. Of these the first I meet withall was *Agrippinus*, who flourished in the beginning of this *Centurie*, *bone memoria vir*, a man

of



of blessed memory, as *S. Cyprian*, (g) *Venerabilis memorie*, of venerable memory, as (h) *Vincentius Lerinensis* calls him. *S. Austin* also mentioneth him in one of his discourses (i) against the *Donatists*, as a predecessor of *S. Cyprians*: and all of them agree in this, that he held those which were baptized by *Hereticks*, were to be re-baptized by the *Catholick* Ministers: for agitation of which business, he caused a Councell to be called of all the *Bishops* (k) *Qui illo tempore in Provincia Africa & Numidia Ecclesiam Dei gubernabant*, which at that time did governe the Church of God in the Provinces of *Africk* and *Numidia*: in which re-baptization of men so baptized, was decreed as necessary. Which howsoever it doth shew that *Agrippinus*, as a man, had his personall errors: yet shews it also, that as a *Bishop* of *Carthage*, he had a power and jurisdiction over all the other *Bishops* of the *Diocese* of *Africk*, and all the *Provinces* thereof: who on his summons, met in Councell, as by those words of *Cyprian* plainly doth appeare. So that we find the holy *Hierarchy* so settled from the first beginners: that as the *Presbyters* were subordinate unto their *Bishops*, so it was there a subordination amongst the *Bishops* themselves; according as it still continueth in those parts of *Christendome*, in which *Episcopall* Government doth remaine in force. But *Agrippinus* being dead, his error or opinion died also with him, though it revived again not long after: and his Successor, by name *Donatus*, looking more carefully unto his

(g) *Cyprian. Epist. 71.*(h) *Vincent. Lerinens. adv. haeres. cap. 9.*(i) *Aug. de Bapt. lib. 2. cap. 7. 8.*(k) *Cyprian. Epist. 71.*

(l) *Cypr. Epi. 55.*(m) *Baron. in Annal.*(n) *Augustin. Epist. 48.*(o) *Concil. Tom. 1. Edit. Bin. p. 587.*

III.

charge, endeavoured what he could to free the same from erroneous doctrines. And to that purpose called a Councell of 90. *Bishops* in *Labesitum*, a Colonie in *Africa*, in which *Privatus*, an old *Hereticke* was by their joynt consent condemned; *nonaginta Episcoporum sententiâ condemnatus*, as (l) *S. Cyprian* hath it. By which we may conjecture at the great spreading of *Episcopacie*; over all this Province, I mean that of *Africa*: so great, that at this time, being *An. 242.* as *Baronius* (m) calculateth it, there could assemble 90. *Bishops*, at the command or summons of their *Metropolitan*: especially if we consider that these were but a part of a greater number. (n) *S. Austin* telling us of a Councell held in *Carthage*, by the *Donatists* (placed by *Baronius Anno 308*) in which there met together no fewer than 270. *Bishops* of that one faction. But least it may be said, as perhaps it was, that the *Donatists* increased the number of *Bishops* the better to support their party, if ever the business should come to be examined in a *Synodical* meeting: we find a Councell held in *Carthage* under *Aurelius*, who was *Bishop* there in *S. Austins* time, *Anno 398.* in which assembled to the number (o) of 214. *Bishops*, all of them *Orthodox* Professors. With such a strange increase did God bless this calling. For certainly the Church had never brought forth such a large encrease, if God even our own God had not given his blessing.

*Donatus* being dead, *Anno 250.* *Cecilius Cyprianus* a right godly man, being then one of the *Presbyters*

byters of the Church, is chosen *Byshop* of the same; and that not only by the joynt consent of the *Cleargie*, their (p) *sed populi universi suffragio*, but by the generall suffrage of the *people*, according to the generall custome of that Church and time.

(p) *Cyp. Ep. 55.*

And being so chosen and ordained, did for foure yeares enjoy himselfe in peace and quiet. But a fierce persecution being raised against the Church, by the command of *Decius* then the *Roman* Emperour; being proscribed and threatned death, he retired (q) himselfe; expecting a returne of better times, wherein he might do service to the Lord his God: professing that in this retreat, hee followed the direction of the Lord, *qui ut secederet iussit*, who had commanded him so to do. In this recess of his, some of his adversaries, (as who liveth without them) which had opposed him in the time of his election, taking an opportunity to ensnare the people and draw them into factions against their *Bishops*: had made a very strong party on their side, calumniating his recess as a deserting of the flocke of *Christ* committed to him; which more afflicted the good Father, than the proscription of his goods, or any tryall of his patience which had beene laid upon him by the persecuters. Of this conspiracy he certifieth the people of *Carthage* by way of letter, wherein he giveth them to understand how the matter stood.

(q) *Idem Epi. 10.*

(r) *Quorundam Presbyterorum malignitas & perfidia perficit &c.* "That I could not come to you before *Easter*, the malice and perfidiousnesse of some

(r) *Idem Epi. 40.*

“some of the *Presbyters* hath brought to passe:  
“whilst mindfull of their own conspiracy, and re-  
“taining their former rancour against my being  
“*Bishop*, or indeed rather against your suffrages in  
“my *election*, and against the judgement of God  
“approving the same: they begin againe to set on  
“foot their former opposition, renewing their sa-  
“cilegious machinations, and lying trecherously  
“in wait for my destruction. And after, in the same  
“Epistle, *Non suffecerat exilium jam biennii, & à*  
“*vultibus & oculis vestris lugubris separatio.* &c. It  
“doth not seeme sufficient to them, that I have  
“beene now two yeares banished from your pre-  
“sence, and to my great affliction separated from  
“your sight; that I am overwhelm’d with griefe  
“and sorrow, vexing my selfe with my continuall  
“complaints, and day and night washing my  
“cheekes with teares; because it hath not been  
“as yet my good fortune to embrace or salute  
“you, whom you had chosen for your *Bishop* with  
“such expressions of your love and zeale. *Accessit*  
“*huic tabescenti animo nostro major dolor.* And yet  
“a greater griefe afflicteth my fainting soule, that  
“in so great distresse and need I cannot come my  
“selfe unto you, fearing lest at my comming, if I  
“should so do, some greater tumult should arise  
“through the threats and secret practises of per-  
“fidious persons: and that considering, as a *Bishop*,  
“I am to take care for the peace and quiet of the  
“Church, *ipse materiam seditioni dedisse*, I might  
“seeme to be or give occasion of some sedition  
likely

likely to be raised, and so renew the persecution which is now well slaked. Nay as it seemeth, some of the *Presbyters* of his Church which were not otherwise engaged in the faction, or carried any ill affections towards him; out of an inclination naturall to man, to enlarge their power, and get as much authority into their hands, as the times would give to the advantage of his absence also, and began sensibly to inroach upon his *office*, and undertake such things as appertained to his *jurisdiction*. Thus he complaines of his *Cleergy*, that such as yet stood faire in their respects, and firme in their obedience to him might be confirmed in the same: and that the rest, being made acquainted with their errour, might in fine desist *Tacere ultra non oportet, &c.* (f) It is no time, saith he, to be longer silent, when as the danger is so imminent both on my selfe and on my people. For what extremity of danger may we not justly feare from Gods displeasure, when some of the *Presbyters*, neither mindful of the Gospel, or their own duty, or the day of judgement, nor thinking that they have a *Bishop* set over them, *cum contemptu & contumelia prepositi totum sibi vendicent*, with the contempt and reproach of him that is their *Bishop*, shall arrogate all power unto themselves. Which their behaviour hee calls also *contumelias Episcopatus nostri*, the reproach and slander of his government; in having such affronts put on him, as never had beene offered to any of his *Predecessors*. The like complaint

(f) *Idem Ep. 10.*

to which he doth also make, but with more resolution and contempt of their wicked practises, in an Epistle to *Cornelius*, being the 55. in number, according to the Edition of *Pamelius*.

IV.

I have the more at large layd down the stormes and troubles raised against this godly *Bishop*, at his first comming to the place ; because it gives great light unto many passages, which concerne his time ; especially in that extraordinary power which he ascribes sometimes, both to the *People* and the *Presbyters*, in the administration of the Church : as if they had beene Partners with him in the publike government. Which certainly he did not, as his case then stood, without speciall reason. For being so vehemently opposed from his first election to the *Episcopall* office ; all opportunities espied to draw away the peoples hearts and alienate their affections from him ; every advantage tooke against him during his absence from the City, to vex and crosse him in his doings : what better way could he devise to secure himselfe in the affections of the *people*, and the obedience of his *Presbyters*, then to professe that in all his acts and enterprises whatsoever, he did and would depend upon the counsell of the one, and consent of the other. And this is that which he professeth in a letter to the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* of ( *t* ) *Carthage*, quod a primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim, nihil sine consilio vestro & consensu plebis meae, privatâ sententiâ gerere ; that he resolved from his first entrance on that *Bishopricke*, to do nothing of his

( *t* ) *Idem* Epist. 6.



his own head, as we use to say, without the Counsell of his *Clergy* and the consent of his *People*: and that on his returne, (for he was then in exile when he wrot this letter) he would communicate his affaires with them, *Et in commune tractabimus*, and manage them in common with their assistance. And certainly this was a prudent resolution, as the world went with him: For by this meanes he stood assured, that whatsoever *Schisme* or *Faction* should be raised against him, it would be never able to prevaile, or get ground upon him, as long as he had both the *People* and the *Presbyters* so obliged unto him, for the support of his authority. But this being but a private case, and grounded on particular reasons makes no generall Rule: no *Bishop* being bound unto the like, by this example, but where all circumstances do concur, which we meet with here; and then not bound neither, except he will himselfe, but as it doth conduce to his own security. So that it is to me a wonder, why the example of *S. Cyprian* should be pressed so often, and all those passages so hotly urged, wherein the *Presbyters* or *People* seeme to be concerned in matters of the *Churches* Government; as if both he and all other *Bishops* had been bound by the Law of God, not to do any thing at all in their holy function, but what the *Presbyters* should direct, and the *People* yeeld their suffrage and consent unto. For being but a resolution taken up by him, the better to support himselfe against his *Adversaries*; it ob-

ligeth no man to the like, as before I said. And he himselfe did not conceive himselfe so obliged thereby, but that he could and did dispense with that resolution, as often as he thought it necessary, or but expedient so to do: performing many actions of importance, in the whole course and Series of his *Episcopall* Government, wherein he neither craved the advice of the one, nor the good liking of the other; and which is more, doing some things not only without their knowledge, but against their wils, as we shall make appeare in that which followeth. Now whereas the points of most importance in the Government and Administration of the Church, are the *Election* of *Bishops*, the *Ordination* of *Ministers*, the *Excommunicating* of the *Sinner*, and the *Reconciling* of the *Penitent*: it will not be amisse to see, what and how much in each of these *S. Cyprian* did permit, as occasion was, either unto the *People* or the *Presbyters*; and what he did in all and every one of these, as often as hee saw occasion also, without their knowledge and consent.

v.

(v) *Smeſſyn.*  
p 33. *ſect.* 7.

First for *Election* of their *Bishops*, it is conceived and so delivered (v) that all their elections were ordered by the *privity*, *consent* and *approbation* of the *people*, where the *Bishop* was to serve: and for the prooffe of this *S. Cyprian* is alleaged, as one sufficient in himselfe to make good the point. The place most commonly alleaged is in his 68. *Epistle* touching the Case of *Basilides* and *Martialis*, two *Spaniſh Bishops*, who had defiled themselves with  
Idols.

Idols and many other grievous crimes: concerning whom, the People of those parts repaired unto him for his resolution. But he remitting the cause back to them, tels them how much it did concern them, *A peccatore Prapósito se separare*, to separate themselves from such sinfull Prelates, and not to participate with them in the Sacrifice, (u) giving this reason for the same, *quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem, vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi*: because the People specially have power either of choosing worthy Prelates, or of rejecting the unworthy. For that by *Sacerdotes*, here the Father understandeth *Bishops*, (x) is confessed on all hands. Nor doth the Father only say it, but he goeth forward to make good the same by Divine Authority, *ut Sacerdos plebe presente*, that the *Bishop* should be chosen in the presence of the People, under all mens eyes: that so he may be proved to be fit and worthy by their publique testimony, And for the prooffe of this, is urged a text from *Moses* in the book of *Numbers*, where God is said to speake thus to *Moses*, “*Ap-*  
 “*prehende Aaron fratrem tuum*, Take *Aaron* thy  
 “brother and *Eleazar* his son, and thou shalt bring  
 “them to the Mount before all the Assembly, and  
 “put off *Aarons* garments, and put them on *Elea-*  
 “*zar* his son. By which it is apparant that God  
 “willeth the *Priest* to be made before all the mul-  
 “titude, shewing thereby that the *Priest* should  
 “not bee ordained but in the presence of the  
 “People, that so the People being present, the of-

(u) Cyr. Ep. 68.

(x) Smeatymu.  
(i. 33.)

“fences of the evill may bee detected, and the  
 “merits of the good made knowne, and conse-  
 “quently the Election, or rather Ordination may  
 “be good and lawfull, being discussed by the opi-  
 “nion and voyce of all. The like he also proves  
 by the electing of *Matthias Bishop*, in the place of  
*Judas*, which was performed in *medio Discipulorum*,  
 in the midst of the *Disciples*; and in the choo-  
 sing of the *seven*, done in the face of all the *People*.  
 This is the summe of what is there delivered by  
*S. Cyprian*: and out of this I find three Corolla-  
 ries or Conclusions gathered. (x) First, that the  
 speciall power of judging of the worthinesse and  
 unworthinesse of a man for the *Prelacy*, was in the  
 brest of the *People*.

(x) *Smectym.*  
 p. 34.

Secondly, the speciall power of choosing or re-  
 jecting to his place, according as they judged him  
 worthy or unworthy, resided in the *People*.

Thirdly, that this power did descend upon the  
*People*, *de Divina Autoritate*, by Divine authority.  
 These are the points collected from *S. Cyprians*  
 words; which with the words themselves out of  
 the which they are collected, are to be taken into  
 consideration, because the waight of all this busi-  
 nesse doth rest upon them.

And first as for *S. Cyprians* words, there is no  
 such command of God touching *Eleazar*, in any  
 Bibles now remaining, as is there layed downe,  
 which thing *Pamelius* (y) well observed. And  
 more than so, the text of Scripture now remaining,  
 is contrary to that which is there alleaged: God  
 willing

(y) *Pamel.* An-  
 not. in *Cypr.*  
 fol. 68.

willing or commanding *Moses*, to bring *Aaron* and *Eleazar* his son, up into Mount *Hor*, whither the *People* neither did nor might ascend, as it is well observed by our learned (z) *Bilfon*. So that *Eleazar* not being chosen by the *People*, but by God immediatly; and his Ordination solemnized on the top of the Mount, (a) *Moses* and *Aaron* being only at the doing of it: this can be no good Argument, that the *Election* of the *Prelate* doth specially pertain unto the *People*. And therefore it is very probable that *Cyprian* met with some corrupted Copy of the Book of God; or else that we have none but corrupted Copies of the bookes of *Cyprian*. As for the *Election* of *Matthias*, though it was done (b) *in medio Discipulorum*, in the presence of the *Disciples*, as the Scripture tels us; yet surely the *Disciples* had no hand in the *Election*: the calling of an *Apostle* being too high a work for any of the sons of men to aspire unto, peculiar only to the Lord our God, to whom the choyce is also (c) attributed in holy Scripture. As for the *Seven*, being they were to be the *Stewards* of the *People*, in the disposing of their goods for the common benefit of the Church, as before was noted: good reason that the *Election* should be made by them, whose goods and fortunes were to be disposed of. So that there is no Law of God, no *Divine Ordinance* of his, expressed in Scripture, by which the *People* are entituled either unto a speciall power of choosing their *Bishops*, or to a necessary presence of the action; though there be many good and weighty reasons,

(z) Govern-  
ment of the  
Church, c. 15.

(a) Num. 20  
27, &c.

(b) Acts 1.15.

(c) Ibid. ver. 24.

(d) 1 Tim 3.

(e) Cyr. *Epi.* 68.

(f) *Bilson* perpetual Govern-  
ment. c. 15.

reasons, which might induce the Fathers in the *Primitive* times, not only to require their presence, but sometimes also to crave their approbation and consent in the *Elections* of the *Prelate*. Now for the *presence* of the *People*, that seemeth to be required on this reason chiefly, that their testimony should be had touching the life and behaviour of the party that was to be *Ordained*, lest a wicked and unworthy person should get by stealth into the function of a *Bishop*; it being required of a *Bishop*, by *S. Paul*, amongst other things, that (d) *he must have a good report*. And who more able to make this report, than the *People* are, *que [plebs viz] singulorum vitam plenissime novit*, (e) who being naturally inquisitive, know each mans life, and hath had experience of his conversation. And as for their consent there wanted not some reasons why it was required, especially before the Church was settled in a constant *maintenance*, and under the protection and defence of a *Christian Magistrate*. For certainly, as our Reverend *Bilson* well observeth, the *People* did (f) more willingly maintaine, more quietly receive, more diligently heare and more heartily love their *Bishops*, when their desires were satisfied in the choyce, (though merely formall) of the man; than when hee was imposed upon them, or that their fancies and affections had been crossed therein. But yet I cannot find upon good authority, that *the speciall power of choosing or rejecting, did reside in them*: though indeed somewhat did depend upon their approbation of the party;



party; and this no otherwise than according to the custome of particular Churches. In *Africke* as it seemes the use was this (g) that on the death or deposition of a *Bishop*: *Episcopi ejusdem Provinciae quique proximi convenient*, the neighbouring *Bishops* of the *Province* did meet together, and repaire unto that *People*, who were to be provided of a *Pastor*, that so he might be chosen *presente Plebe*, the *People* being present at the doing of it, and certifying what they knew of his conversation. And this appeares to be the generall usage, *p. r Provincias fere Universas*, through almost all parts of Christendome: Where plainly the *Election* of the new *Prelate* resided in the *Bishops* of the same *Province* so conveened together: and if upon examination of his life and actions, there was no just exception laid against him, *manus ei imponebatur*, he was forthwith ordained *Bishop*, and put into possession of his place and office. But it was otherwise, for a long while together, in the great *Patriarchall Church* of *Alexandria*: in which the *Presbyters* had the *Election* of their *Bishop*, (h) *Presbyteri unum ex se Electum*, as *S. Hierom* noteth, the *Presbyters* of that Church did choose their *Bishop* from amongst themselves: no care being had, for ought appeareth in the Father, either unto the *Peoples* consent or presence. And this continued till the time of *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*, as he there informeth us, of whom wee shall speake more hereafter. But whatsoever interest, either the *Clergy* in the one Church, or the

(g) *Cyp. Ep. 68.*(h) *Hieron. ad Synagium.*

People chalenged in the other ; there is remaining still a possession of it in the Church of *England*: the *Chapter* of the *Cathedrall* or mother Church making the *Election* in the name of the *Cleargie*; the *King*, as *Caput Reipublice*, the head and heart also of his *people*, designing or commending a man unto them ; and freedom left unto the *people*, to be present if they will at his *Election*, and to except against the man, as also at his confirmation, if there be any legall and just exception to be layd against him.

VII.

(i) *Cypr. lib. 33.*  
*vel. l. 2. ep. 5.*

Next for the *Ordination* of the *Presbyters*, it was *S. Cyprians* usuall custome to take the approbation of the *people* along with him ; as he himselfe doth informe us in an *Epistle* of his, to his charge at *Carthage*, inscribed unto the *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, and the whole body of the *people*. (i) *In ordinandis clericis, fratres charissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, & mores & merita singulorum, communi consilio ponderare*, which is full and large. What ever he saith elsewhere to the same effect, is in effect no more than what here is sayd ; and therefore we shall save the labour of a further search. Nor was this *Cyprians* custome only. It had prevailed as it seemes in most parts of *Christendome* ; and was so universally received ; that even the *Roman Emperours* tooke notice of it. For *Alexander Severus*, one of the hopefullest young *Princes* in the declining times of the *Roman Empire*, noting this custome of the *Christians*, (k) was wont when he promoted any unto the government of *Provinces*,

(k) *Lamprid. in*  
*vita Alex.*  
*Severi*

to

to post up, as it were, the names of the persons, inviting the *people* to come in against them, if they could charge them on just prooffe, with any crimes: "And used to say it were a shame not to observe "that care in choosfing of the *Rulers of Provinces*, "to whom mens lives and fortunes were to be "committed; *cum id Christiani & Judei facerent* "in predicandis sacerdotibus, qui sunt ordinandi, "when as the *Jewes* and *Christians* did it in publishing the merit of those *Priests* which were to be ordained by them. Which kind of publication of the life and merits of the party, that was to be ordained, may possibly relate aswell unto the the popular manner of electing *Bishops*, at that time in use. But as there is no generall observation, but doth and must give way unto particular occasions: so neither was this rule so generally observed, but that sometimes it was neglected. Even *Cyprian* himselfe how much soever it concerned him to continue in the *peoples* favour, would many times make use of his own authority, in choosfing and ordaining men to functions and employments in the Church, without consulting with the *people*, or making them acquainted with his mind therein. For minding to advance (1) *Aurelius* unto the office of a *Reader* (an office, but no *Order*, in the Church of God) he tarried not the *peoples* liking and consent: but did it first, and after gave them notice of it: not doubting of their taking it in good part, (*quod vos scio & libenter amplecti*) and so commends him to their prayers. The like we find

(1) *Cypr. ep. 33.*

(m) *Id. Epi. 34.*(n) *Baronius  
Annal. Anno*

253. m. 294

(o) *Cypri. Ep. 35.*(p) *Booke of  
Ordination.*

(m) of *Celerinus*, a man highly prized, admitted first into the *Cleargie* by him and his *Colleagues* then present with him in his exile, and then acquainteth the *people* that he had so done, *non humana suffragatione, sed divina dignatione*, not being guided in it by any humane suffrage, but by Gods appointment. And although *Celerinus* and *Aurelius* being knowne unto the *people* by their former merits, the matter might be taken with the lesse resentment; yet this no way can be affirmed of *Numidicus*: who being before a *Presbyter* in some other Church, (n) as *Baronius* very well observeth, and in all likelihood utterly unknowne *de facie*, to those of *Carthage*, was by Saint *Cyprian* (o) of his sole authority, without consulting either with *Presbyters* or *people*, (for ought which doth appeare) taken into the number of the *Presbyters* of that Church, *ut nobiscum sedeat in Clero*, and so to have a place, together with the *Bishop* himselfe, amongst the *Cleargie* of the same, and that we do not finde as yet in *S. Cyprians* writings, that the *people* had any speciall power either in the Election or Ordination of their *Presbyters*, more than to give testimony of their wel-deservings, or to object against them if they were delinquent. And more then that is still remaining to them in the Church of *England*: in which the *People* are required at all Ordinations, (p) that if they know any notable crime in any of them which are to be Ordained, for which he ought not to be received into the *Ministerie*, to declare the same, and on the declaration of

of the same, the *Bishop* must desist from proceeding further. This is as much as was permitted to them in the *Primitive* times, for ought I perceive; and yet the Church of *England* gives them more than this: the *Presbyter* who is to serve the *Cure* in particular *Churches*, being elected by the *Patrons* of them, for and in the name of the rest of the people.

As for the power of *Excommunication*, I do not finde but that *S. Cyprian* reckoned of it, as his own prerogative; a point peculiar to the *Bishop*: in which he neither did advise either with the *Presbyters* or *People*. When as the wickednesse of *Feliciſſimus* the leader of the faction raised against him was growne unto the height, the Father of his owne authority denounced him excommunicant (q) *absentum se a nobis sciat*, as the phrase then was; as he did also on *Augendus*, and diverse others of that desperate party: committing the execution of his sentence to *Herculanus* and *Caldonius* two of his *Suffragan Bishops*, and to *Rogatianus* and *Numidicus*, two of the *Presbyters* of his charge; whom as for other matters, so for that he had made his *Substitutes*, or *Commissaries* if you wil, *Cum ego vos pro me Vicarios miserim*, as the words are. And they accordingly being thus authorized proceed in execution of the same, and that in a formality of words, which being they present unto us the ancient forme of the letters of *Excommunication* used of old, I will here lay downe, (r) *Abstinuimus communicatione Feliciſſimum, & Augendum, item Repostum de excoſtoribus, & Irenem, Rutilorum,*

VIII.

(q) *Cyp. ep. 38*  
vel l. 9. ep. 1.

(r) *apud Cyp.*  
*Epist. 39.*

& *Paulam Sarcinatricem*; quod ex annotatione mea scire debuistis. In which we may observe that this Excommunication was so published, that all the residue of the *Cleargie*, to whom the publication of it was committed, might take notice of it: quod ex Annotatione mea (or nostra rather, as *Pamelius* very probably conjectureth) Scire debuistis. So that the proceſſe of the whole is this, that those *Incediaries* were denounced excommunicate by S. *Cyprian* himſelfe, the execution of it left to those above remembred, whom he had authorized in that behalfe; and they accordingly proceeding made certificate of it unto the *Cleargie* of *Carthage*, that publication might be made thereof unto the *People*. Which differs very little in effect from what is now in use amongst us. Nor did S. *Cyprian* do thus only of himſelfe, *de facto*; but he adviſeth *Rogatianus*, one of his neighbouring *Bishops*, to exercise the like authority, as properly belonging to his place *de jure*. *Rogatianus* had complained (f) as it seemes, of some indignities and affronts which had beene offered to him by his *Deacon*: which his respect, in making his complaint unto him, as *Cyprian* tooke exceeding kindly; so he informeth him withall, that he had the Law in his owne hands; and that *pro Episcopatus vigore & Cathedra autoritate haberet potestatem qua posset de illo statim vindicari*; by vigour of his *Episcopall* function and the Authority of his Chaire, he had power enough, to be straightway avenged of him for the same. Yet being the matter was refer-

(f) *Cyp. Ep. 65.*

red



red unto him, he declares his thoughts, that if the Deacon, whom he writ of, would repent his folly, and give some humble satisfaction to the offended Bishop, he might not do amisse, to remit the fault. But if he did provoke him further by his perverse and petulant behaviour; *fungèris circa eum potestate honoris tui, ut eum vel deponas vel abstineas*; he should exercise the authority of his place, or honour, and either degrade or excommunicate him, as he saw occasion. Here was no sending to the Cleargie to have their advice, no offering of the matter unto their better consideration, but all referred unto the Bishop, to do therein as unto him seemed best, of his owne authority. So that both Cyprian, and other Bishops, both might and did, and durst do many things wthout advising with the Cleargie; (t) contrary to what some have told us: And this they might do well enough, without dread or feare, that any of their Sentences (u) might be made *irrita*, or voyd by the fourth Conncell of Carthage; which was not held untill 130 years and upwards, after Cyprian's death. And for the interest of the People in these publique censures, I find them not at all considered, but where the crime was hainous, and the Church scandalized by the sins and lewdnesse of the party punished. In which case there was such regard had of them, that the sentence was published *in facie Ecclesie*, in the full Congregation of Gods people: And that aswell that they might the more heartily detest such scandalous and sinfull courses; as that they might

(t) Smectym.  
Sect. 9. p. 38.

(u) Ibid.

(x) *Aug. cont.*  
*Ep. Parmen. lib.*  
*3. cap. 2.*

(y) *SmcAym.*  
*p. 40.*

might eschew his company, and conversation, as they would do the company of an Heathen or of a Publican: (x) *Tunc se ab ejus conjunctione salubriter continet, ut nec cibum quisquam cum ea sumat*; not one of them so much as eating with the man, who is so accursed. Which as they are *S. Austins* words, so by the tenor of the place, they seeme to intimate *S. Cyprians* practise. So that if *Excommunications* had not passed in former times, without (y) the knowledge and approbation of the body of the Church, to which the delinquent did belong; as some men suppose, it was upon this reason only, as themselves affirme, because the people were to forbear communion with such. And being that in the Church of England, the *Excommunication* of notorious sinners, is publicly presented unto the knowledge of the People, for that very reason, because they should avoyd the company of *Excommunicated* persons: I see not any thing in this particular, (I meane as to the Publication of the Sentence) in which the Church of England differs from the *Primitive* and antient practise. And did our *Bishops* keep the power of *Excommunicating* to themselves alone, and not devolve it upon others: they did not any thing herein, but what was practised by *S. Cyprian*.

IX.

For *Reconciling* of the *Penitent*, which naturally and of course is to come after *Excommunication*, I find indeed that many times *S. Cyprian* took along with him, the counsell and consent both of his *Presbyters* and *People*. And certainly it stood with

with reason that it should so be, that as the whole Church had been scandalized at the heinousness of the offence; so the whole Church also should have satisfaction in the sincerity of the Repentance. Many and severall are the passages in this Fathers writings, which do clearly prove it: none more exactly than that in his Epistle to *Cornelius*, (a) where wishing that he were in presence when perverse persons did returne from their sins and fol-  
 "lies, *Videres quis mihi labor sit persuadere patienti-*  
 "am fratribus nostris, you would then see, saith he,  
 "what paines I take to persuade our brethren, that  
 "suppressing their just grief of heart, *recipiendis ma-*  
 "lis curandisq; consentiant, they would consent to  
 "the receiving & the curing consequently of such  
 "evill members. Yet did he not so tye himselfe to  
 this observance, but that sometimes, according as he  
 saw occasion, *unus atque alius obnitente plebe &*  
*contradicente, mea tamen facilitate suscepti sunt,*  
 some, though not many, had been Reconciled and  
 reimbosomed with the Church, not only without  
 the Peoples knowledge, but against their wils. So  
 that the interest which the People had in these re-  
 laxations of Ecclesiasticall censures, were not be-  
 longing to them as in point of right, but only in  
 the way of contentation. The leading voyce was  
 always in the Bishop, and so the negative voyce  
 was also when it came to that: He was to give  
 his fiat first, before the Clergy had any thing to do  
 therein: S. Cyprian telling of himselfe, (b) *quam prom-*  
*pta & plena dilectione,* that he received such Peni-  
 D d d tents

(a) Cyp. Ep. 55.

(b) Id. Ibid.

*tents* as came unto him, with such affection and facility, that by his over-much indulgence to them, *pene ipse delinquo*, hee was even capable himselfe. And if it were no otherwise in his time with the Church of *Carthage* in this case, there it appears to be in the third Councell there assembled: the *Bishop* had not only the leading voyce, but the directing and disposing power, a negative voyce into the bargain. For there it is ordained, (c) *Ut Presbyter Episcopo inconsulto, non reconciliet Penitentem*, that the *Presbyters* were not to *Reconcile* a *Penitent*, unlesse it were in the *Bishops* absence, or in a case of urgent and extreame necessity: (as in point of death) it being there declared withall, that it belonged unto the *Bishop*, (d) *penitentia tempora designare*, to appoynt the time, and the continuance of the *penance*, as he saw occasion. And this to be the practise of *S. Cyprians* time, is most cleere and evident, by the displeasure he conceived against some *Presbyters*, who had admitted men (which before were *lapsed*) without leave from him, to the blessed Sacrament. A matter which he aggravates to the very height, (e) charging them, that neither mindfull of the Gospell, nor their own place and station, nor of the future day of Iudgement, nor of the authority of him their *Bishop*, they had admitted such as fell in time of persecution to the Churches Sacraments, not being by him authorized so to do. And this he saith, was sure an insolency, *quod nunquam omnino sub Antecessoribus factum*, which never had been done in any of his Pre-

(c) *Concil. Car.*  
 l. 11. cap. 32.

(d) *Ibid. c. 31.*

(e) *Cypr. ep. 10.*

Predecessors times : and being now done, *cum contumelia & contemptu Præpositi*, was done in manifest contempt and reproach of their *Bishop*, threatning withall, that if they did persist in these wilfull courses, he would make use of that authority, *qua me uti Dominus jubet*, which God had given him for that purpose; *viz.* suspend them from their Ministry, and bring them to a publique triall for their misdemeanours, before himselfe and all the *People*. 'Tis true indeed, that in the outward action and formality of this great work of *reconciliation*, the *Clergy* did impose hands with the *Bishop*, upon the head of him that was *reconciled*: for we find often in *S. Cyprian* (*f*) *Manus ab Episcopo & Clero imposita*; but this was only, as I said before, in the outward action; the power of admitting him unto that estate, and giving way to his desires in making of him capable of so great a favour, belonging only to the *Bishop*, as before appeares.

(*Epist. 10. 11.*  
*&c.*)

Thus have we seene how and in what particulars, as also upon what considerations, *S. Cyprian* communicated some part of his *Episcopall* Authority, either unto the *Presbyters*, or to the *People*, or to both together. Wee will next looke on those particulars, which he reserved wholly and solely to himselfe: and they concerne his *Cleargie* chiefly; in his behaviour towards whom, in matters of reward and punishment, he was as absolute, and supreme, as ever any *Bishop* since his time. And first in matter of reward, the greatest honour whereof

x.

(g) *Sozom.**l. 4. c. 14.*(h) *Concil. Laodi.**Can. 55.*(i) *Canon Sacer-*  
*dos distinct. 2.*(k) *Cyprian. Ep. 35.*(l) *Id. Epi 34.*

the *Cleargie*, in his time, were capable, was their place of sitting, distinct & separate from the people. A place by *Sozomon* (g) called *ισετνωρ* as it were, the *Sacrario*; by the councill of *Laodicea*, (h) entitled *Βήμα*, by reason it was higher than the rest, that all the people might behold it; by others, *Presbyterium* (i) the place for *Presbyters*: but by what names soever called, a place it was appointed for the *Bishop* and his *Cleargie* only. Into this place *S. Cyprian* admits *Numidicus*, (k) a stranger to the Church of *Carthage*, as before was noted from *Baronius*: but by him added to the number of the *Presbyters* there, *adscriptus Presbyterorum Carthaginiensium numero*, as his owne phrase is, that so he might enjoy the honour of that place, with the lesse distast.

And so for point of *maintenance*, which was another part of the *reward*, that did belong to the *Laborious* and *painefull Presbyter*: the distribution of the same was wholly in the *Bishops* power. So wholly in his power, that howsoever it belonged unto none of right, but unto the *Presbyters*: yet, he, having bestowed on *Celcrinus*, and *Aurelius*, the place of *Readers* in the Church; did also give unto them or assigne the same full maintenance, which was allowed to any of the *Presbyters*. (l) *Presbyteris honorem designasse nos illis jam Sciatis, ut & sportulis iisdem cum Presbyteris honorentur, & divisiones mensurnas equatis portionibus partiantur.* “Know you (saith he) in an Epistle to the whole Church of *Carthage*, that we have af-  
signed



“signed them the full honour of *Presbyters*, appointing that they should receive the same proportion of allowance, and have as great a share in the monthly *dividends*, as any of the *Presbyters* had. Where, by the way, this portion or allowance had the name of *Sportula*, from the reward or fees which anciently were allowed to Judges, and by that name are mentioned in the *Civill Laws* : which being assigned to the *Presbyters*, *pro singulorum meritis*, according to the merits of the persons, to some more, some lesse, at the discretion of the *Bishop*, gave them the name of *Fratres sportulantes*, whereof we read in *Cyprian Ep. 66*. And they were called *divisiones mensurne*, the monthly *Dividends*, because that as the contributions of the people were made once every month, *mensura quaque die*, as *Tertullian* (m) a *Presbyter* of this Church, hath told us : so, as it seemes, the *Dividend* was made accordingly, as soone as the mony had been brought to the *Bishops* hands. So also in the way of *punishment*, when any of the *Clergy* had offended, the *Bishop* had authority to withdraw his maintenance, and withhold his stipend. For when complaint was made to *Cyprian* (n) of *Philumenus*, and *Fortunatus* two of his *Subdeacons*, and of *Favorinus* an *Acolythite*, *qui medio tempore recesserunt*, who formerly had forsooke their calling, and now desired to be restored again unto it : although he neither would nor could determine in it, before he had consulted with his *Colleagues*, and the whole body of his people, (the

(m) *Tertul. in Apolog. c. 36.*

(n) *Cyp. Ep. 18*

(o) *Idem Ep. 10.*(p) *Idem Ep. 65.*

XI.

(q) *Idem Ep. 66.*

matter being great and weighty ) yet in the mean time he suspends them from their *monthly* pay, *interim se à divisione mensurnae tantum continent*, as he there resolves it; leaving the cause to be determined of at better leasure. This was a plaine suspension a *Beneficio*, and could he not suspend *ab Officio* also? Assuredly he both could and did, as appeares evidently by his proceeding with these *Presbyters*, who had entrenched upon his *Jurisdiction*, as before was said. Whole great offence though hee reserved unto the hearing both of the *Confessors* themselves, and the whole body of the people, for a finall end: (o) yet in the meane time, *prohibeantur interim offerre*, it was his pleasure to suspend them for the *Ministry*, from their attendance at the *Altar*. Suspend them then he might, there's no doubt of that; but might he not if he saw cause, *deprive* them also. He might assuredly, or otherwise he had never given that counsell to *Rogatianus*, that if the *Deacon* formerly remembred, did not repent him of his faults, (p) *eum vel deponat vel abstineat*, he either might *deprive* or *excommunicate* him, which he would himselfe. He were a very greedy *Bishop*, who would not be content with that allowance of authority, which *S. Cyprian* had.

The like authority he used towards the people also, not suffering them to be remembred in the *Churches Prayers*, if they had broken or infringed the *Churches Canons*. And this appeareth by the so celebrated case of *Geminus Victor*, (q) who at his

his death had made *Geminus Faustinus*, one of the *Presbyters* of *Carthage*, *tutorem testamento suo*, the executor of his last Will and Testament? which being like to be a means, whereby *Faustinus* might be taken off from his employment in the Ministry: the displeased *Bishop* doth declare, *ne deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in Ecclesia frequentetur*, that he should neither be remembred in the *Offertorie*, nor any prayer be made in his name in the Church. And this he did upon this reason, *ne quis Sacerdotes & Ministros Dei, Altari ejus & Ecclesia vacantes, ad seculares molestias devocet*, that none hereafter should presume, to withdraw the *Priest* and *Ministers* of God, from their attendance at the *Altar* in the Churches service, unto the cares & troubles of the world. Which passage as it shewes expressly, the great tie which the *Bishops* of those times had upon the Conscience of the *people*; whom they could punish thus after death it selfe: so is it frequently alleaged, to shew that neither *Presbyters* nor *Bishops* (r) were to be *molested with handling of worldly affaires*. And so farre I agree with them, that *Presbyters* and *Bishops* are to be restrained from these worldly matters, so far forth as they are a *molestation* to them, whereby they are disabled from the executing of their holy function, as this *Faustinus* seemes to be, (s) *ab Altari advocatus*, quite taken off from the attendance of his place; so far forth as the ancient *Cannons* on the which *Cyprian* grounds himselfe, they are and ought to be restrained. But we have shewne before, (t) that many

(r) *Smellym.*  
p. 46.

(s) *Cyp. Ep. 56.*

(t) *V. par. 2. c. 1.*

many secular affaires were not inconsistent with the true meaning of those *Canons*; as neither possibly might this of *Fauslinus*, had it hapned at some other time, been reputed by him. But at this time, partly by reason of the persecution, and partly on occasion of the factious, the Church was almost (*n*) destitute and unprovided. This as he intimates in his 35. Epistle, touching the admission of *Numidicus* into the number of their *Presbyters*; so hee affirms the same at large in another place: where he declareth, (*x*) *plurimos nostros absentes esse, paucos verò qui illic sunt vix ad ministerium quotidiani operis sufficere*, that many of the *Presbyters* did absent themselves, and that those which did remaine upon their Charge, could not suffice for the performance of the dayly offices. So that the Church being in that necessity, and such a manifest need or want of *Presbyters*, as then appearing in the Church; *Fauslinus* could the lesse be spared from the attendance on the Ministry, and consequently *Geminus Victor* the more unadvised, in putting him on such a businesse by which he was *ab administratione Divina avocatus* (*y*) quite taken off from the employment of his calling in Gods holy Service. And this I rather take to be the true condition of the businesse, and that which gave S. *Cyprian* so great cause of Anger, then with *Saravia*, (*z*) to affirme that the Decree or Canon whereof *Cyprian* speaketh, was but particular and provincially, *illi tempori & loco serviens*, calculated for the Meridian only of the Church of *Carthage*, and fitted

(u) *Desolata Presbyterii nostri copia. ep. 35*

(x) *Cypr. Ep. 24.*

(y) *Cypr. Ep. 66.*

(z) *De honore Praesul. debito. c. 16.*

fitted to the present time; the *Canon* being ancient and universall, as before was shewne.

Another point, in which *S. Cyprian* exercised the height of his *Episcopall* authority, (and an high point it was indeed, as the times then were) was in restraining of those *Indulgences*, which usually the *Martyrs*, or such as were prepared for *Martyrdom*, did too promiscuously bestow on *collapsed* Christians. For in the *Primitive* times, the Discipline of the Church being very rigid and severe, such as in time of persecution had denyed the Faith, either by offering unto *Idols*, or by some formall abnegation under their hand-writing, whom they called *Libellatici*, were doomed unto (b) perpetuall penance; no restitution being to be hoped for to the Churches favour, and to the benefits and comforts of it, untill the very moment of their last departure. Yet such was the regard which was born to those, who did already suffer dureffe and imprisonment, and were resolved to suffer death, for the sake of Christ; that such to whom they gave their letters of recommendation, (c) were by the *Bishops* readmitted into the bosome of the Church. And this at first was done without any sensible inconvenience following thereupon, the *Martyrs* or *Confessors* rather being very wary, on whom they did bestow those favours, and very sparing of them also. But when that it was growne so generall, that either they did *pacem lapsis dare*, receive such men into their favours, and the Churches peace, promiscuously (d) without care and difference; or

Ecc that

XII.

(b) *Albapin. de Eccl.ritibus*

(c) *Cyp. Ep. 11. 13, 14, 15.*

(d) *Id. Ep. 17. 19, 20, 21, 22.*

(e) *Cypr. Ep. 15.*

that the *Presbyt.* taking their warrant for sufficient, without the leave and liking of their *Bi.* admitted them to the *Communion*: then did the Father manifest his dislike thereof, Whereof consult, *Ep. 11. 13, 14, 15.* For when it once was come to this, he first address'd himselfe unto the *Confessors* or *Martyrs*, to be more sparing of the like *Indulgences*; and after to the *Presbyters* and *People* severally, for the repressing of this foule disorder. And when that would not serve the turne, he resolv'd at last, that for the time to come, (e) *Quamvis libello à Martyribus accepto*, such Bills or Letters, notwithstanding as they had received from those *Martyrs*, they should stay his leisure, and the whole businesse concerning them be respited, untill his returne. Which checke thus given, and certain of the *Presbyters* rebuked and threatned by him, for their officiousnesse in this kind, as before we saw: it came to passe, that in a very little time, as well the *Discipline of the Church*, as the authority of the *Bishops*, reverted to its former rigor, especially after that on the sight of this inconvenience; the *Lapsi*, or *Collapsed Christians*, were by the generall consent of holy *Church*, admitted unto penance, like to other sinners; which as it hapned chiefly by *S. Cypr.* meanes, so was it brought to passe in *S. Cyprians* time. But here take notice by the way, that though these *Indulgences* had beene granted by these *Confessors*, whilest they were *Martyrs*, but *in voto*; they were not yet to take effect, as the late learned *Bishop of Orleans* (f) very well observed, till that they had received the crowne of *Martyrdome*:

(f) *Albassima.  
de rit. Eccl. li. 1.  
observ. 2.*



which hee proves very evidently out of certaine places of S. *Cyprian* compared together, for which I leave you to that Author. It is enough, that the first check that had been givento that promiscuous liberty, which the *Martyrs* tooke, of doing what they pleased with the *Churches* Keyes; was given by *Cyprian*. Whose foot-steps, one of his Successors following, after brought to passe, that none should have the honour of being counted *Martyrs*, (g) after their de cease, but such whose life and sufferings, and the occasion of those sufferings, were first reported by the *Bishop* of the place in which he lived, to his *Metropolitan* or *Primate*, and by the *Metropolitan* to the chiefe *Primate*, who was he of *Carthage*: who on deliberation, was to decree, *Cuinam Martyris cultus deberet impendi*, who ought to have the honour and repute of *Martyrs*, as *Baronius* noteth. And this he proveth out of a passage in S. *Austin*, (h) wherein *Mensurius* Bishop of *Carthage*, writing unto *Secundus* *Primate* of *Numidia*, (for all the *Metropolitans* of *Africa* were called *Primates*) is said to have disliked of those, which without cause or questioning, exposed themselves to open danger; *Et ab iis honorandis prohibuisse Christianos*, and that he did prohibit the *Christian People* to give them that regard and honour, which was due to *Martyrs*. And indeed *Optatus* (i) speakes of one who was reputed for a *Martyr*, *Sed nondum vindicatus*, but not asserted to that honour, not established in it. So great was the authority of *Bishops* over that

(g) *Baro. in Annal. Eccl. Anno 302 n. 129*

(h) *Brevic. Coll. die 3. c. 5.*

(i) *Optat. de schism. lib. 1.*

XIII.

of *Martyrs*, whether dead or living.

But to returne unto *S. Cyprian*, whom we have found so stout a Champion in the defence of his *Episcopall* authority, that though there was a kind of necessity of complying (as the world went with him) both with his *Presbyters* and *People*, yet notwithstanding he knew how to resume his power, and neither take their Counsell nor consent, but on some occasions. Had he done otherwise, he had indeed betrayed the honour of his calling; which in the point of *practise*; which he so often doth extoll, both for *Divinity* of institution, and excellency of jurisdiction, in the way of *Theory*. For if we looke into his writings, we shall soone finde what his opinion was touching the institution of *Episcopacy*; which hee maintaineth in severall places to be *Pure Divino*, no Ecclesiasticall device, no humane ordinance. For grounding the authority of his calling on those words of Christ, *Tibi dabo Claves*, (k) he sheweth that ever since that time, the Church hath been constituted upon *Bishops*, and every Act thereof by them administred. Then addes, *Cum hoc itaque Divina lege fundamentum sit*, that since it is so ordered by the Law of God, or by Divine Law, which you will; he marveileth much that any one should write such letters to him, as he had formerly received from some of the collapsed *Christians*. In his Epistle to (l) *Cornelius*, he calleth the Office of a *Bishop* in governing the Church of God, *Sublimem & Divinam potestatem*, an high and Divine authority, and tels

(k) *Cypr. Ep. 27.*

(l) *Id. Ep. 55.*

us of the same, *de Divina dignatione, firmatur*, that it is founded and confirmed by Divine Providence "or favour; In that unto (m) *Rogatianus*, *Apostolos, i. e. Episcopos & Praepositos Dominus elegit*, the "Lord saith he, did choose *Apostles*, that is, the *Bishops* and Governors of the Church: therefore if we that are the *Bishops* ought to do nothing against God, *qui Episcopos facit*, who made us "Bishops; so neither ought the *Deacons* to do any "thing in despite of us, who made them *Deacons*. Finally in that unto *Florentinus Pupianus*, (n) who had charged him, as it seemes, with some filthy crimes, he affirmeth often, that the *Bishop* is appointed by God himselfe, *Sacerdotes per Deum in Ecclesia constitui*, that they are placed in the Church by God, *Deum Sacerdotes facere*, that God makes *Bishops*; and in a word, *Apostolica Vicaria ordinatione succedere*, they that succeeded the *Apostles*, as their proper *Substitutes*. As for the excellency of the *Episcopall* power, take this once for all, where he affirmeth to (o) *Cornelius*, *non aliunde haereses abortas esse*, that *Schismes* and *Heresies* do proceed from no other fountaine, than this, that there is no "obedience yeilded to the *Bishop* or *Priest* of "God (for in the ancient stile of many of the Fathers, *Sacerdos* and *Bishop* is the same) *Keluvius in Ecclesia ad tempus Sacerdos, & ad tempus Iudex* "vice Christi cogitatur; and that men do not "thinke that there is one *Bishop* only for the time "in a *Christian Church*, one for the time that judg- "eth in the place of Christ. Which words since

(m) Idem Ep. 69.

(n) Idem Ep. 69.

(o) Idem Ep. 55.

(r) *Pamel. An  
not. in Cyp. Ep.  
55.*

(q) *Cyp. Ep. 69.*

(r) *Hieron. adv.  
Luciferian.*

many of the *Advocates* (p) for the *Popes* Supremacy have drawn against all right and reason from their proper purpose, to the advancement of the dignity of the See of *Rome*; *S. Cyprian* writing this unto *Cornelius*, then the *Bishop* there: we may heare him speaking the same words almost, in his owne behalfe: *Inde enim Schismata, &c.* (q) From hence, saith he, do Schismes and Heresies arise, whilest the *Bishop* being but one in every *Church*, is slighted by the proud presumption of some men; and he by man is judged unworthy, whom God makes worthy of his favours. And because possibly it may bee thought that *Cyprian* might be partiall in the heightning of his own authority; I shall crave leave to back him with Saint *Hierome's* (r) words, none of the greatest fautors of *Episcopacy*, who affirms as much; who tels us plainly, that the safety of the *Church* depends on the chiefe *Priest* or *Bishop*, *Cui si non exors & ab omnibus eminens detur potestas*, to whom, in case there be not given an eminent and transcendent power, there will be shortly as many Schisms in the *Church*, as *Priests*. But it is time to leave *S. Cyprian*, who went unto the Lord his God through the doore of *Martyrdome*, Anno 261, proceeding from the *Church* of *Carthage*, to that of *Alexandria*, the next neighbour to it.

CHAP.

## CHAP. V.

Of the condition and affaires of the two  
*Patriarchall Churches of Alexandria*  
and *Antiochia*.

I. *Of the foundation and first Professors of the Divinity Schoole in Alexandria.*

II. *What is affirmed by Clemens, one of those Professors concerning Bishops.*

III. *Origen the Divinity Reader there, permitted to expound the Scriptures, in the presence of the Bishop of Cæsarea.*

IV. *Contrary to the custome of the Alexandrian and Westernne Churches.*

V. *Origen ordained Presbyter by the Bishops of Hierusalem and Cæsarea, and excommunicated by the Bishop of Alexandria.*

VI. *What doth occurre touching the superiority and power of Bishops in the Works of Origen.*

VII. *The custome of the Church of Alexandria, altered in the election of their Bishops.*

VIII. *Of Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria, and his great care and travailes for the Churches peace.*

IX. *The government of the Church in the former times, by letters of intercourse and correspondence amongst the Bishops of the same.*

X.

X. *The same continued also in the present Century.*

XI. *The speedy course tooke by the Prelats of the Church, for the suppressing of the Heresies of Samosatenus:*

XII. *The Civill Iurisdiction, trayne and thrones of Bishops, things not ununsual in this Age.*

XIII. *The Bishops of Italy and Rome, made Judges in a point of title and possession, by the Roman Emperour.*

XIV. *The Bishops of Italy and Rome, why reckoned as distinct in that Delegation.*

I.



And being come to *Alexandria*, the first thing presents it selfe to our observation, is the *Divinity-Schoole* there being: which wee must first take notice of, before we looke into the *Church*, which in this Age was furnished hence both with Religious *Bishops*, and learned *Presbyters*. A Schoole, as it appeareth by *Eusebius*, of no small Antiquity; who (a) speaking of the times of *Commodus*, saith, ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, that of an antient custome there had been a *Schoole*, for teaching of *Divinity*, and other parts of Literature, which had been very much frequented in the former times, and so continued till his dayes. According to which plat-forme, first *Schooles*, and after *Universities* had their consideration in the *Church*:  
from

(a) *Eu. hist. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 10.*



from whence, as from a fruitfull *Seminary*, she hath been stored ever since with the choyest wits, for the advancement of her publique service. But for this Schoole of *Alexandria*, the first Professour there, which occurs by name, is said to be *Pantenus*, (b) *Ἰνὸς τοῦ Παντενίου ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας*, a man renowned in all parts of Learning; first a Philosopher of the Sect of *Stoicks*, and afterwards a famous *Christian Doctor*. A man so zealously affected to the Gospel of *Christ*, that for the propagating of the same he made a journey to the *Indies*: and after his returne, he tooke upon him the *Professour-ship* in the Schoole afore said, *τὸς ἐπὶ θείων δογματικῶν διδασκαλίας*, opening the treasures of Salvation, both by word and writing. And I the rather instance in him, because that under him (c) *Clemens* of *Alexandria* learned his first *Principles* of Religion; and after him succeeded in his *Chaire* or *Office*: who being by birth of *Athens*, and of the same family with the former *Clemens*, the fourth *Bishop* of *Rome*; upon his comming, and abode at *Alexandria*, gained the surname or additament of *Alexandrinus*. Now that *Clemens*, was *Divinity Reader* in the Schoole of *Alexandria*, is said expressly by *Eusebius*; (d) where he affirmeth also, *Ὁ ἐκείνους τῶν ποιεῖν αὐτῶν γινώσκων* that *Orig.* was one of his Disciples: Who after comming to the place himselfe, was followed in the same (e) by *Heraclas*, and *Dionysius* successively: both of them *Schollers* in the Schoole of *Origen*, both severally and successively *Readers* or *Doctors* in the same, and both, first

(b) *Jd. ibid.*(c) *Jd. l. 5. c. 11.*(d) *Id. l. 6. c. 9.*(e) *Id. li. 6. cap. 12. 13.*

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(b) *Jd. ibid.*(c) *Jd. l. 5. c. 11.*(d) *Id. l. 6. c. 9.*(e) *Id. li. 6. cap. 12. 13.*

*Heracles, Dionysius* next, *Bishops* or *Patriarchs* of *Alexandria*. So that within the space of halfe an hundred yeares, this Schoole thus founded, or at the least advanced in reputation by *Pantenus*, brought forth the said foure famous Doctors. *Clemens* and *Origen*, *Heracles* and *Dionysius*, all of them in their times men of great renowne, and the lights and glory of their age. And though I might relate the names of many others men of fame and credit, who had their breeding in these Schooles; did it concerne the businesse which I have in hand: yet I shall instance in no more but these, and these it did concerne me to make instance of, because their Acts and Writings are the speciall subject of all that is to come in this present Chapter; and were indeed the greatest businesse of that Age.

II.

(g) *Euf. bist. Ec.*  
l. 6. c. 11. 17:

(h) *Id. l. 3. c. 2.*

(i) *Id. lb. c. 14.*

And first for *Clemens*, not to take notice of those many Books which were written by him, a Catalogue whereof (g) *Eusebius* gives us, and from him *S. Hierome*: those which concerne us most, were his eight books inscribed *ἀποστολικαὶς*, which are now not extant, and those entituled *γραμματαίς*, which are still remaining. In the first eight, he tels us in the way of story, that (h) *Peter*, *James* and *John*, after *Christs* Ascension, how high soever in the favour of their Lord and Master, contended not amongst themselves for the place and honour; ἀλλ' ἵνα καθέστην διακονοὶ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἐπισκόποι αὐτοῦ, but made choyce of *James* surnamed the *Just*, to be the *Bishop* of *Hiernsalem*: (i) that *Peter*, on perusall of the *Gospell*, writ by *Mark*, Κυρόβου τὴν γραφὴν αὐτοῦ.

Εἰπ

ἔιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, confirm'd the same by his authority,  
 for the advancement of the Church that (i) *James*  
 ὁ πρὸς τῶν Ἀποστόλων, to whom the *Bishoprick* of *Hie-*  
*rusalem* had been committed by the *Apostles*, was  
 by the malice of the Jews done to a cruell death:  
 that (k) *John* the *Apostle*, after *Domitian's* death,  
 returned to *Ephesus* from *Patmos*, and going at  
 the intreaty of his friends to the neighbour nati-  
 ons, ὁ πρὸς τῶν Ἀποστόλων κατεστάμενος, ὅτι δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας  
 ἀρμόσων, in some parts he ordained *Bishops*, in others  
 planted or established *Churches*, in others, by the  
 guidance of the holy Spirit, electing fit men for  
 the *Clergy*; telling withall the story of a certaine  
*Bishop*, to whom the said *Apostle* did commit a  
 young man to be trained up. All which he might  
 affirme with the greater confidence, (m) because  
 he tels us of himself, ὡς ἔχοντα τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων γένεσιν  
 διαδεδῶκε, that he lived very neere the *Apostles* times,  
 and so might have the better light to discern their  
 actions. And for the other eight remaining, al-  
 though there is but little in them, which concerns  
 this Subject, the Argument of which hee writ-  
 teth not having any thing to do therewith: yet  
 in that little we have mention of the severall Or-  
 ders, of *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons* in the  
*Church* of God. And first for *Bishops*, speaking of  
 the domestick Ministeries that belong to marriage,  
 he shewes that by the *Apostles* Rule, (n) such *Bi-*  
*shops* are to be appointed for the Church of God,  
 τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας αἰτίας καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας αἰτίας καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας αἰτίας  
 766 as by the orderly government of their private

(i) Id. Ibid. cap:  
22 κγ.

(k) Id. l. 3. c. 17.  
κγ.

(m) Id. l. 6. cap.  
11 γγ:

(n) *Clement A-*  
*lex and. Strom.*  
lib: 3.

families, may be conceived most fit and likely to have a care unto the *Church*. Where cleerely, by his *ἐπακόπους* he meanes not *Presbyters*, as the *Apostle* is conceived to meane in his Epistle to *Timothy*. For howsoever the *Presbyters* might bee trusted with the charge of a particular Congregation; yet had they never the inspection, the care or governance, τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐκκλησίας, of a whole *Church*, or many Churches joyned together, as the word αἰρέσεως may be rendred. That was the privilege and power of *Bishops*. So for the two inferiour Orders, we find them in another place, (o) where he divides such things as concerne this life, into βελπωτικὰς, matters of improvement and advantage, and ὑπηρικὰς, subservient only thereunto; then addes, that in the *Church of God*, the *Deacons* exercise the subservient offices; τὴν δὲ βελπωτικὴν οἱ Πρεσβύτεροι σώζουσιν εἰκόνα, but that the *Presbyters* attend those others, which conduce to our amendment or improvement in the way of godlinesse. Out of which words if any man can gather (p) that judging of the conversation or crimes of any members of the *Church*, that discipline, which worketh emendation in men, is in the power of the *Elders*, as I see some do, he must needs have a better faculty of extraction, then the best *Chymist* that I know of. In all that place of *Clemens* not a word of *fudging*; nor so much as a syllable of Discipline. A power of bettering and amending our sinnefull lives, he gives indeed unto the *Presbyters*: but that I hope both is and may be done by the *Ministry* of the Word and Sacraments.

(o) *Idem*. li. 7.

(p) *Smeelynn*.  
p. 38.



ments, with which the *Presbyters* are and have bin trusted. This is the *βελτιον*, the bettering and improving power which belongs to them; and not the dispensation of the Keys, which have been alwaies put into other hands, or if at any time into theirs, it hath been only in a second and inferiour place, not in the way of *judging*, in the course of *Discipline*.

Next let us looke on *Origen*, a man of most prodigious parts both for Wit and Learning; (q) who at the Age of eightene yeares was made a *Catechist*, in the *Church*, and afterward a publique Reader in the *Schooles* of *Alexandria*, a man in whom there was nothing ordinary, either good or ill: for when he did well, none could do it better; and when he erred or did amisse, none could doe it worse. The course and method of his studies, the many *Martyrs* which he trained up in the *Schoole* of *Piety*, the severall countries which he travelled, either for informing of himselfe or others, belong not unto this discourse. Suffice it, that his eminence in all parts of learning, and his great pains in his profession, (r) made him most gratefull, for a time, unto *Demetrius* the *Patriarch* of *Alexandria*, though after upon envy at the mans renowne, he did endeavour to diminish his reputation. For on occasion of the warres in *Egypt*, (s) seeing he could not stay in safety there, he went unto *Cæsarea*, the *Metropolitan See* of *Palestine*: where, though not yet in holy *Orders*, he was requested by the *Bishop*, not only to *dispute* in publike, as his

(q) Hieron. de  
Script. Eccl.  
in Origine

(r) Euseb. hist.  
Eccl. l. 6. c. 7. n.

(s) Idib. c. 13. n.

custome was, *τις τε θείας γραμμῶν εὐον χάρας*, but also to expound the Scriptures; and that too *ἐν τῇ κοινῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας* in the open Church. Which when it came unto the knowledge of *Demetrius*, he forthwith signified by letters his dislike thereof: affirming it to be an unaccustomed and unheard of thing, *παρά τὸν ὀμιλῶντα καὶ ὁμιλῶν*, that any *Lay-man* should presume to *preach*, or expound Scripture in the *Bishops* presence.

But hereunto it was replied by *Theoclistus Bishop* of *Cesarea*, and *Alexander Bishop* of *Hiernsalem* who was also there, that he had quite mistooke the matter: it being lawfull for such men as were fit and eminent, to speake a word of *exhortation* to the *people*, or to preach unto them, *παρελαύσεις ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίων Ἐπισκόπων*, if they were thereunto required by the *Bishop*; instancing in *Enelpis*, *Paulinus*, and *Theodorus*, godly brethren all, who on the like authority had so done before; and they, for their parts, being of opinion, that others besides them had done so too. In a citation of which businesse, there are these two things presented to us, first the regard and reverence, which was had, in those Pious times, unto the person of a *Bishop*; and then the power and authority that was vested in them. For first it seemes that men of whatsoever parts, though of great Spirit and abilities, did notwithstanding thinke it an unfitting thing, to meddle with expounding Scripture, or edifying of the *people*, in case the *Bishop* was in place. And yet as strange and uncouth as it was, or was thought

thought to be, the *Licence* of the *Bishop* made it lawfull. But then withall we must conceive of *preaching* in this place and story, not as a *Ministeriall* office, but only as an *Academical* or *Scholasticall* exercise: according as it is still used in our *Universities*, where many not in holy *Orders*, *preach* their turnes and courses.

IV.

And yet indeed *Demetrius* was not so much out as they thought he was, but had good ground to go upon, though possibly there was some intermixture of envy in it. For whatsoever had been done in the *Easterne Churches*, the use was otherwise in *Alexandria*, and in the Churches of the *West*: in which it was so farre unusuall for lay-men to expound, or *preach* in the *Bishops* presence, that it was not lawfull for the *Presbyters*. For in the neighbour Church of *Carthage* it was thus of old, in these times at least. For when *Valerius Bishop* of *Hippo*, a Diocese within that *Province*, being by birth a *Grecian*, (1) and not so well instructed in the pronounciation of the *Latine Tongue*, perceived his *Preaching* not to be so profitable to the common people for remedy thereof, having then lately ordained *Augustin Presbyter*, *eidem potestatem dedit coram se in Ecclesia, Evangelium predicandi*, he gave him leave to preach the *Gospell* in the Church, though himselfe were present. And this saith *Possidonius*, who relates the story, was *contra usum & consuetudinem Ecclesiarum Africanarum*, against the use and custome of the *African Churches*, and many *Bishops* thereabouts did object as much.

(1) *Cassiodorus in vit. Aug. c. 5.*

But

But the old man, bearing himself upon the custome of the *Easterne Church*, where it was permitted, would not change his course. By meanes wherof it came to passe, that by this example, some *Presbyters* in other places, *accepta ab Episcopis potestate*, being thereto licenced by the *Bishop*, did preach before them in the Church, without controule. For *Austin* being afterwards *Bishop* of *Hippo* in the place of *Valerius*, applauds *Aurelius* the *Metropolitan* of *Carthage*, (g) for giving way unto the same: commending him for the great care he tooke in his Ordinations, but specially, *de sermone Presbyterorum qui te prasente populo infunditur*, for the good sermons preached by the *Presbyters* unto the people in his presence. But this permission or allowance was only in some places, in some Churches only; perhaps in none but those of *Africke*. For *Hierom* writing to *Nepotian*, (being himselfe a *Presbyter* in the Church of *Rome*) complains thereof (h) *ut turpissima consuetudinis*, as of a very evill custome, that in some Churches the *Presbyters* were not to preach if the *Bishop* were by. And though he was a man of great authority with *Damasus* and others his Successours, *Popes* of *Rome*; yet got he little by complaining, the custome still continuing as before it was. And this is cleare by the Epistle of (i) *Pope Leo*, in which as it is declared unlawfull, to performe divers other Sacred offices in the *Bishops* presence, without his speciall precept and command; so also is there a *non licet* in this point of Preaching, which was not

(g) Aug. Ep. 77

(h) Hieron. ad  
Nepotianum

(i) Leon. Ep. 88.

to be done [*nec populum docere, nec plebem exhortari*] if the *Bishop* were then present in the Congregation. So that this being then an ancient and received custome, must needs be now in force when *Demetrius* lived: and, as it seemes by his exhortation in the case of *Origen*, had beene no lesse observed in *Alexandria*, than in *Rome*, or *Africke*. There was indeed a time and that shortly after, in which the *Presbyters* of *Alexandria* might not preach at all, (k) *Πρεσβύτεροι ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ ἢ προσομιλεῖ*, as it is in *Socrates*. Which generall restraint as it was occasioned by reason of the factions raised by *Arius*, or other troubles of that Church, in the beginning of the Age next following: so it continued till the times of *Socrates*, and (l) *Sozomen*, who lived about the middle of the sixt Centurie, and take notice of it. So that as it appeared before in the case of *Austin*, that the *Bishops* have a power to licence; so it appears by that of *Arius*, that they also have a power to silence.

(k) *Socrat. hist. Eccl. l. 9. c. 21.*

(l) *Sozom. hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 29*

v.

But to returne againe to *Origen*, the *Bishops* of *Casarea* and *Hierusalem* finding how profitable a servant he might prove in the Church of God, did at another time, as he passed through *Palestine* to goe towards *Greece*, ordaine him *Presbyter*. And this was done (m) *ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς* faith *Eusebius*, by the *Bishops* there, by the two *Bishops* formerly remembred: no *Presbyter* concurring in it for ought there we find. Yet when *Demetrius* moved with his wonted envy, did not only what he could to disgrace the man, but also

(m) *Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 17. c. 7.*

Ggg

fought

(n) *Id. l. 6. c. 7. n*

sought to frame an accusation against those (n) *οὗτοι*  
*ἐν τῇ Πρεσβυτερικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, which had advanced  
 him to the order of a *Presbyter* : we do not find  
 that he objected any thing against them, as to the  
 Act of *Ordination* ; but only as unto the *irregula-*  
*rity* of the person, by reason of a *corporall* defect  
 of his owne procuring. And on the other side,  
 when as *Demetrius* saw his time, and found that  
 some few passages in his many writings, either by  
 him or in his name at lest set forth and published ;  
 had made him liable unto danger, obnoxious to  
 the censures of the Church : he did not only ex-  
 communicate him, which had been enough, either  
 to right the Church, or revenge himselfe, but he  
 prevailed with many other Churches also, to con-  
 firme the sentence. (o) *Ab eodem Demetrio Episcopo*  
*Alexandrino fuisse excommunicatione damnatum,*  
*prolatamque in eum sententiam a ceteris quoque Ec-*  
*clesiis ratam habitam,* as *S. Hierome* hath it. Where  
 as before we had his *Ordination* performed only  
 by the two Bishops of *Cæsares* and *Hierusalem*,  
 without the hands of any of the *Presbyters* ; and  
 yet the *Ordination* good and valid, the whole  
 Church after reckoning him for a *Presbyter*, with-  
 out doubt or scruple : so here we find him *excom-*  
*municated* by one Bishop only, without the votes or  
 suffrages of the *Presbyters*, or any shew or colour  
 of it ; and yet the Church concurring with that  
 Bishop, though his ancient enemy, in confirmation  
 of that censure. So fully was the Church perswa-  
 ded in the former times, that these were parts of  
 the

(o) *Hier. in Apo-*  
*cont Ruffinum.*



the *Episcopall jurisdiction* and authority: that there was no objection made against this last, though *Origen* had many friends, and those great ones too: nor nullity or invalidity in the first, although *Demetrius* who by reason of his great place and power, had made him many enemies, did except against it.

From that which doth occurre concerning *Origen* in the bookes and works of other writers, proceed we unto that which doth occurre concerning *Bishops* in the workes of *Origen*. And there we find in the first place the severall Orders of *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons*. For speaking of those words of the Apostle, *he that desireth the office of a Bishop, desireth a good worke*, (p) he tels us this, *Talis igitur Episcopus non desiderat bonū opus*, that such a *Bishop* desireth not a good worke, who desireth the Office, either to get glory amongst men, or be flattered and courted by them, or for the hope of gaine from those which beleve the *Gospel*, and give large gifts in testimony of their Piety. Then addes, *Idem vero & de Presbyteris & de Diaconis dices*, that the same is to be said of *Presbyters* and *Deacons* also. Nor doth he only shew us, though that were sufficient, the severall ranks and Orders in the *Hierarchie*, but also the ascent or griefes from the one to the other, (q) *In Ecclesia Christi inveniuntur*, "In the Church of Christ, saith he, there are some men who doe not only follow feasts and them that make them, but also love the chiefest places, and labour much, *primū ut Diaconi*

VI.

(p) *Origen in Mat cap. 15.*

(q) *Orig. tracl. 24. in Mat. c. 23*

“*fiant*, first to be made *Deacons*, not such as the  
 “Scripture describeth, but such as under pretence  
 “of long prayers devoure widdowes houses. And ha-  
 “ving thus been made *Deacons*, *cathedras eorum*  
 “*qui vocantur Presbyteri praripere ambiunt*, they  
 “very greedily aspire to the chaires of those who  
 “are called *Presbyters*; And some not therewith-  
 “all content, practise many waies, *ut Episcopi vo-*  
 “*centur ab hominibus*, to have the place or name of  
 “*Bishops*, which is as much to say as *Rabbi*. And  
 shortly after, having endeavoured to depreesse this  
 ambitious humour, he gives this caveat, that he  
 who exalts himselfe shall be humbled; which he  
 desireth all men to take notice of, but specially the  
*Deacons, Presbyters, and Bishops*, which do not think  
 those words to be spoke of them. Here have we  
 three degrees of *Ministers* in the Church of God,  
 one being a step unto the other, whereof the *Bi-*  
*shop* is Supream, in the highest place. And not in  
 place only, but in power also, and authority, as be-  
 ing the men unto whose hands the keys were tru-  
 sted by our Saviour. For in another place he (r) dis-  
 courseth thus. *Quoniam ij qui Episcoporum locum*  
*sibi vindicant &c.* When they which chalenge to  
 “themselves the place of *Bishops*, doe make the  
 “same confession that *Peter* did, and have received  
 “from our Saviour the *Keys* of the Kingdome of  
 “Heaven, teaching that *what they bind on Earth is*  
 “*bound in Heaven*, and *what they loose in Earth*  
 “*is loosed in Heaven*; we must acknowledge that  
 “what they said is true, if withall they have those  
 “things

(r) *Jd Tract. 1*  
*in Matth.*

“things for which it was so said to *Peter*. For if he  
 “be bound with the *chaines* of his owne finnes,  
 “*frustra vel ligat vel solvit*, in vaine he takes upon  
 “him to bind or loose. In the which words (not ta-  
 king notice of his error, seeming to make the effi-  
 cacy of the *Ministry* to depend upon the merit of  
 the *Minister*) wee finde that in the time of *Origen*  
 the dispensation of the *Keyes* was the *Bishops*  
 office.

This if it should not be sufficient to declare their  
 power, we may heare him in another place calling  
 them *Principes populi Christiani*, (f) the Princes  
 of the Christian *People*, blaming them, such espe-  
 cially as lived in the greatest Cities (in which hee  
 secretly upbraides the proud behaviour of *Demetrius*  
 towards him) for want of affability and due  
 respect to their inferiours: And writing on these  
 words of our Saviour Christ, *who is that faithfull*  
*and wise servant*, &c. he applies them thus: *Peccat*  
*in Deum* (t) *quicumque Episcopus, qui non quasi*  
*conservus servus ministrat, sed quasi Dominus*. That  
 “*Bishop* whosoever he bee, doth offend against  
 “God, which doth not minister as a *servant* to  
 “his fellow servants, but rather as a Lord amongst  
 “them: yea and too often as a sharpe and bitter  
 “Master, domineering over them by violence  
 “(remember how *Demetrius* used him) like the  
 “task-masters in the land of *Egypt*, afflicting the  
 “poore *Israelites* by force. Finally as he doth ac-  
 quaint us with their power and eminency; so doth  
 he tels us also of their care and service: (u) assuring

(f) *Id in Mat.*  
 19. *Tractat.* 11.

(t) *Id in Matth.*  
 4. *Tractat.* 31

(u) *Id. Homil.*  
 6. in *Esaiam.*

us, that he who is called unto the office of a *Bishop*, *non vocatur ad principatum, sed ad servitutem totius Ecclesie*, is not invited to an Empire or a *Principality*, but to the *service* of the whole Church. And this hee keeps himselfe to constantly in that whole discourse (being the sixt *Homily* on the Prophet *Esay*) in which although he afterwards doth call the *Bishop*, *Ecclesia Princeps*, yet hee affirms that he is called *ad servitutem*, to a place of service; and that by looking to his service well, *ad solum coeleste ire posset*, hee may attaine an Heavenly throne. And so much shall suffice for *Origen*, a learned, but unfortunate man, with whom the Church had never peace, either dead or living.

VII.

(x) *Euseb. hist. l.*  
6. c. 13. & 14.

(y) *Id. c. 20. & 25.*

From him then we proceed unto his Successor, *Heraclas*, an *Auditor*, at first of *Clemens*, then of *Origen*, (x) who being marvellously affected with the great learning of the man, *καταρτίσας αὐτὸν τῷ μαθηματικῷ*, made him his Partner in the *Chaire*, which after *Origen* was laid by, (y) he managed wholly by himselfe, with great applause. A man that had the happinesse to succeed the two greatest enemies in the world, *Origen* and *Demetrius*; the one in the *Schools*, the other in the Church of *Alexandria*; unto which honour he was called on *Demetrius* death, who had sate *Bishop* there three and forty yeares. On this preferment of *Heraclas* unto the *Patriarchale*, the *Regency* of the *Alexandrian Scholes*, was forthwith given to *Dionysius*, another of *Origens* disciples, who after fourteen yeares or there-

thereabout, succeeded also in the *Bishoprick*. And here began that alteration, in the election of the *Bishops* of this Church, which *S. Hierome* speaks of. (2) The *Presbyters* before this time, used to elect their *Bishop* from among themselves. *Alexandria à Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclum & Dionysium Episcopos, Presbyteri unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant*, as the Father hath it. But here we find that course was altered; though what the alteration was, in what it did consist, whether in the *Electors*, or the condition of the party to be *Elect*, is not so cleerey evident in *S. Hieromes* words. For my part, I conceive it might be in both, both in the *unum ex se*, and the *collocabant*. For first the *Presbyters* of that Church had used to choose their *Bishop* from amongst themselves, *Electing* alwayes one of their own bodie. But in the choyce of these two *Bishops* that course was altered: these two, not being *Presbyters* of the Church, but *Readers* in the *Schools* of *Alexandria*, and so not chosen from amongst themselves. And secondly, I take it that the course was altered, as to the *Electors*, to the *Collocabant*. For whereas heretofore the *Presbyters* had the sole power of the *Election*, to choose whom they listed, and having chosen to *enthron* him without expecting what the *People* were pleased to do: the *People* seeing what was done in other Churches, began to put in for a share; not only ruling, but finally over-ruling the *Election*. What else should further the *Election* of these two

(2) Hieron. ad  
Eugrium.

I can hardly tell; but that their diligence and assiduity in the discharge of the employment they had tooke upon them; the great abilities they shewed therein, and the great satisfaction given thereby unto the *People*, who carefully frequented those publique *Readings*, had so endeered them to the multitude, that no other *Bishops* could content them, had not these been chosen. And this I am the rather induced to thinke, because that in a short time after, the interesse of the *People* in the *Election* of their *Bishop* was improved so high; that the want of their consent and suffrage was thought by *Athanasius* (z) a sufficient barre against the right of the *Elect*, affirming it to bee against the *Churches Canons*, *καὶ ἂν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς κανόνας*, and to the precept of the *Apostles*. But which of these soever it was, an alteration here was made of the antient custome; which is as much as is intended by *S. Hierome* in the words alleaged. How others have abused this place, to prove that the *imparity* of *Bishops* is not of *Divine authority*, but only brought in by the *Presbyters*, we have shewne before. *Part. I. Cha. 3.*

(z) *Athanasius Epi.  
ad Orthodoxos.*

## VIII.

But to go on with *Dionysius* (for of *Heracles* and his acts there is little mention) wee find the time in which he sate to be full of troubles; both in regard of *persecutions* which were raised against the Church *without*, and *heresies* which assaulted her *within*. *Novatus* had begun a faction in the Church of *Rome*, grounding the same upon a false and dangerous doctrine; (a) the summe whereof we find in

(a) *Euseb. Hist. Ec.  
lib. 7. cap. 7.*



in an Epistle of this *Dionysius*, unto another *Dionysius* Pope of *Rome*. And whereas *Fabius Bishop* of *Antiochia*, was thought to bee a fautor of that schisme, (b) he writes to him about it also. So when *Sabellius* had begun to disperse his heresies, he presently gives notice of it to *Sixtus*, (c) or *Xystus Bishop* of the Church of *Rome*, as also unto (d) *Ammon Bishop* of *Bernice*, and *Basilides* the *Metropolitan* of *Cyrenica* or *Pentapolis*, and to diverse others. And when that *Paulus Samosatenus* began to broach strange doctrines in the Church of *Christ*, (e) although he could not goe in person to suppress the same, yet writ he an Epistle to the *Bishops* assembled there, ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων declaring his opinion of the point in question. And on the other side, when as the *Persecutors* made foule havocke in the Church, and threatned utterly to destroy the *Professours* of it: he by his letters certifieth his (f) neighbouring *Bishops*, in what estate Gods Church stood with him, with what heroicke resolutions the *Christians* in his charge did abide the fury, and conquered their tormenters by their patient sufferings: so giving honour to the dead, and breathing courage in the living. Indeed what *Bishops* almost were there in those parts of *Christendome*, with whom he held not correspondence, with whom he had not mutuall and continuall entercourse, by the way of letters, from whom he did not carefully receive in the self same way, both advise and comfort? Witnesse his severall Epistles besides those formerly re-

(b) *Id.* l. 6. c. 36.  
44.

(c) *Id.* l. 7. c. 5. 5

(d) *Id.* l. 7. c. 21.  
251.

(e) *Id.* l. 7. c. 22.  
252.

(f) *Id.* l. 6. c. 31.  
44.

(g) *Id. li. 6. c. 38* membred, (g) unto *Cornelius* Pope of *Rome*, recommending him for an Epistle by him written against *Novatus*; and giving notice to him, of the death of *Fabius*, and how *Demetrianus* did succeed him in the See of *Antioch*: and also to the Church of *Rome*, discoursing of the publike ministeries in the Christian Church. Witnesse that also unto *Stephanus*, the Predecessor of *Cornelius* (h) entituled *De Baptismate*; a second to the afore said *Stephanus*, (i) about the faction of *Novatus*. To *Diomsius* Bishop of *Rome*, besides that before remembred from *Eusebius*, a second extant in the workes of (k) *Athanasius*. And one to *Paulus Samosatenus*, the wretched Patriarke of *Antiochia*, of which though there is no mention in *Eusebius* (l) who tells us that he would not vouchsafe to write unto him; yet is it intimated in *Nicephorus*, (m) who affirms the contrary, and extant in (n) the *Bibliotheca Patrum* and in (o) the *Annals* of *Baronius*. It were an infinite and endlesse labour, to recite all those, which besides these inscribed unto the Bishops of the greater Churches, he writ and sent to others of lesse note and quality, as viz. (p) to *Conon* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, the Churches of *Laudicea* and *Armenia*, *Agios di metrius nicolaus*, and to whom not all most either Priest or Bishop, that was of any merit and consideration in the Church of *Christ*.

I X.

If you demand to what end serves this generall muster of the Epistles of this Prelate, why I have brought them thus into the field in their ranks and files, I answer that it was to let you see, what

was

was the Ancient forme of government in the Church of Christ, before they had the happinesse to live under *Christian Princes*, and thereby opportunity of meeting in their *general councils*. For all the *Apostles* being furnished by our Lord and Saviour, with an equality of power and honour, *pari consortio pradi potestatis & honoris*, as (q) S. Cyprian hath it : by consequence all *Bishops* also, were founded in the like equality. So that the government of the Church as to the outward forme and polity thereof, was *Aristocraticall*. And being so, there was in manner a necessity imposed upon the *Prelates* of the Church, to maintaine mutuall *entercourse* and correspondence betwixt one another by letters, messages, and *Agents*, for the communicating of their counsels, and imparting their advise, as occasion was in all emergent dangers of the Church. For howsoever that the Church had followed in some things, the patterne of the *Roman Empire*, and in each *diocesse* thereof (taking the Word according to the civill sense) had instituted and ordained a *Primate*, to whom the finall resolution of all businesses did appertaine, that fell within the compasse of that *Diocesse* : yet all these *Primates* being of equall power and authority, each of them absolute & independent with the bounds and limits of his owne jurisdiction ; there was no other way to compose such differences as were either indeterminable at home, or otherwise concerned the publike, but this of mutuall *entercourse* and correspondence. And this, what ever is opi-

(q) Cyprian de  
Ecclesia unitate

(r) Euseb. *biſp.*  
*Eccl.* 3. c. 13. 17

(f) *Id.* c. 30. 28

(r) *Id.* 4. c. 23,  
 27.

ned unto the contrary both by the *masters* and the *Schollers* in the Church of *Rome*, who have advanced the *Pope* into the Sovereigne or Supream direction in all points of doubt: will prove to be the practise of the *Christian* Church in all times and Ages, till the Authority of all other Churches in the worst and darkeſt times of *Christianity*, came to be swallowed up in the gulph of *Rome*. For presently upon the death of the *Apoſtles*, who questionleſſe had the frequent resort, the final ending of all buſineſſes which concerned the Church, a full and plenary authority to direct the ſame: we find that *Clemens* (r) one of their *Disciples*, ſends his *Epistle* to the Church of *Corinth* for the compoſing of ſome *Schiſmes* which were raiſed amongſt them, and that (f) *Ignatius Biſhop* of *Antioch*, another of their *Schollers* ſends the like to *Rome*, for their confirming in the faith. Beſides which, as he travelled towards *Rome*, or rather was haled thither to his execution, he diſpatched others of his *Epistles* unto other Churches, & one amongſt the reſt unto *Polycarpus Biſhop* of *Smyrna*, commending unto him the good eſtate of the Church of *Antioch*. The like we find of *Dionysius Biſhop* (r) of *Corinth* a right godly man, of whoſe *Epistles* to the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, *Nicomediens*, and thoſe of *Crete*, as alſo to the Churches in *Pontus*, nay to that of *Rome*, conducing either to the beating down of *heresies*, or to the preſervation of peace and unity, or to the confirmation of the faith, or rectifying of what was amiſſe in the Churches discipline.

pline, there is full mention in *Eusebius*.

Thus when *Pope Victor* by his rash perversesse, had almost plunged the Church in an endlesse broyle: the *Bishops* of these times bestirred themselves (x) by publique writings, to compose the quarrell: particularly *Irenaeus* and *Polycrates*, the one the *Metropolitan* of the *Gallick*, the other of the *Asian* Churches. And when that many of the *Bishops* severally had convoked (y) *Councils*, and *Synodicall* meetings to make up this breach: upon the rising of the same they sent out their letters, signifying what they had *Decreed*, advising what they would have done by all *Christian People*. For though *Eusebius* (z) instanceth in none but the *Bishops* of *Casarea* and *Hierusalem*, (in the records of which intwo Churches, he had been most versed) which sent out these *Synodicall Epistles*: yet being so many other *Metropolitans*, had called *Synods* also to the same intent; I doubt not but they tooke the same course as the others did, in manifesting their *Decrees* and *Counsailes*. Nay so exact and punctuall they were in the continuance of this mutuall amity and correspondence, that there was almost no occurrence of any moment or consideration, not so much as the death of some eminent *Prelate*, (a) and the succession of a new; but they gave notice of it unto one another, ending (b) their letters of congratulation unto the party so advanced: Examples of the which in *Eccle. Histories*, are both infinite and obvious. By meanes of which continuall intercourse there was

(x) *Id. l. 4. c. 23.*  
24: *Id. l. 4. c. 25.*

(y) *Id. c. 22. x7.*

(z) *Id. c. 25. x7.*

(a) *Jd. l. 6. 38.*  
45.

(b) *Jd. l. 6. c. 10.*  
16. & *Cyprian:*  
*Epist. 41:*

maintained, not only an *Association* of the severall Churches, for their greater strength, nor a *Communication* only of their counsailes, for the publick safety, but a *Communion* also with each other, as members of the *mysticall body* of our Saviour Christ.

(c) *Optat. de Schi.  
Donat. l. 2.*

And this is that *Optatus* (c) speaks of, when having made a Catalogue of the *Bishops of Rome*, from *S. Peter* down unto *Siricius*, who then held that place; or, as his words there are, *Qui noster est Socius*, who was his Partner or Associate in the common Government of the Church: he addes, *Cum quo nobis totius orbis commercio formatarum in una communione societate concordant*; with whom the whole world doth agree with us, in one communion or society, by Letters of intercourse and correspondence. For *Littera formata, or communicatoria*, were these Letters called, as in the 163. *Epistle* of *S. Austin*, where both names occur.

X.

This as it was the usage of the former times, so was there never more need to uphold the same, than in the latter part of this present Age. So mighty a distemper had possessed the Church, that no part almost of it was in a tolerable constitution: and therefore it concerned the *Bishops* to be quick and active, before the maladies thereof became incurable. In that of *Carthage*, besides the faction raised by *Felicesimus*, which had no countenance from the Church; there was an erroneous doctrine publicly received about the *Baptisme* of *Heretiques*. The Church of *Alexandria*, besides the heate she fell into concerning *O-*  
*rigen*



rigen, was much disquieted by the Heresie of *Sabellius*, broached within the same. And that no sooner was suppressed, or at least quieted for the present, but a great flame brake out in the Church of *Antioch*, which beginning in the house of *Paulus Samosatenus* before remembred, had like to have put all the Church into combustion. *Rome* in the meane time was afflicted more than all the rest, by the *Schisme* raised, and the false doctrines preached therein, by *Novatianus*: and that not for a fit only and no more but so, but in a constant kind of sicknesse, which disturbed her long. In this distemper of the Church, the *Bishops* had no way to consult her health; but by having recourse to their old way of mutuall commerce and conference: which being it could not be performed in person, must be done by *Letters*. And so accordingly it was. Witnesse those severall Letters written by *S. Cyprian* to the *Bishops* of *Rome*: viz. from him to *Stephanus*, *Epist.* 71. to *Lucius*, *Epist.* 58. and to *Cornelius*, *Epist.* 42, 43, 47, 54, 55, 57. to the Church there, *Epist.* 23, 29. and from the Church of *Rome* and the *Bishops* of it, unto him againe, *Epist.* 31, 46, 48, 59. In all of which they mutually both give and take advise, as the necessities of their affaires, and the condition of the Church required: Nor was the businesse of the Church of *Carthage*, in agitation between *Cyprian* only and the *Roman Prelates*; but taken also into the care and consideration of *Dionysius Bishop* of *Alexandria*, (d) who writ his judgement in it, and advice about

(d) *Eufr. hist. ec.*  
*lib. 7. cap. 2.*

about it, to *Stephanus* then Pope of *Rome*, who held against *S. Cyprian*, or indeed rather for the truth, in the point in question. What the same *Dionysius* did, for the suppressing of the faction of *Novatus*, raised in *Rome* at first, but after spreading further over all the Church, we have in part beheld already, by his Epistle unto *Fabius* of *Antiochia* who was suspected to incline that way; and that inscribed unto *Cornelius*, written about that businesse also, which before we spake of. And we may see what *S. Cyprian* did in recompence of that advice and comfort which he had from *Rome*, in his own afflictions, by the great care hee tooke for the composing of her *Schismes* and troubles when shee fell into them; by his *Epistles* to that only purpose: as viz. those unto *Cornelius*, intituled (e) *Quod ordinationem Novatiani non receperit*, (f) *De ordinatione ejus à se comprobata*, (g) *Quod ad Confessores à Novatiano seductos literas fecerit*: (h) The letters of those seduced *Confessors* to him, and his congratulation unto them upon their returne to their obedience to the Church; *Cornelius* (i) writing unto him touching the faction of *Novatian*, and their wicked practises, with his reply unto *Cornelius*. Thus also when *Sabellius* began to broach his heresies within the jurisdiction of *Alexandria*; he did not only signifie the same to the Bishop of *Rome*, which by the (k) *Cardinall* is used I know not how, for a prime Argument, to prove the *Popes Supremacy*: but unto diverse other *Bishops*, as before was shewne, to whom assuredly he

(e) *Cypr. Ep. 41.*(f) *Id: Ep. 42.*(g) *Id: Ep. 43.*(h) *Id Ep. 50, 51*(i) *Id. Ep. 48, 49*(k) *Baronius Annal. Ecc. Anno 360, n: 61.*

he owed no obedience. This as he did, according to the usage of the Church, at that time in force: so tooke he other courses also for the suppression of that *Heretic*, both by power and pen. For finding upon certaine information (1) *mas emenior qdrit nē Sabaudie*, that diverse *Bishops* of *Pentapolis*, being within the *Patriarchat* of *Alexandria*, began to countenance and embrace the said desperate doctrines, and had so far prevailed therein, that there was hardly any mention in their Churches of the Sonne of God; he knowing that the care and oversight of the said Churches did belong to him, first laboured by his Messengers and Commissioners to dissuade them from those lewd opinions; and when that would not do the deed, he was constrained to write unto them an *Epistle*, in which he thoroughly confuted their erroneous tenets. By which as we may see the care and piety of this famous *Prelate*, triumphing in the fall of *Heretic*; so we may see the power and eminency of that famous *See*, having the governance and superintendency of so many Churches.

(1) *Atba de sen-  
seat: Dionys.*

But that which was indeed the greatest business of his time, and which the Church was most concerned in, was that (m) of *Paulus Samosatenus*, the sixteenth *Bishop* of the Church of *Antioch*, great in relation to the man, one of

XI.

(m) *Enseb. Eccl.  
hist. l. 7: c. 22. 23*

the three prime *Bishops* in the Christian Church; and great inference to the danger which was like to follow. When one of the maine Pillars of a Church is founded, the whole edifice is in danger of a present ruine. And therefore presently upon the apprehension of the mischiefe likely to ensue, in case there was no speedy course taken to prevent the same, the *Bishops* of all parts repaired to *Antioch*, not only those which were within the jurisdiction of that *Patriarchate*, but such as lived farre off; and in all possibility, might have kept their Churches from the infection of the *Heresie*, being so remote. For thither came (n) *Firmilianus Bishop* of *Cæsarea*, in *Cappadocia*, *Gregory* surnamed *Thaumaturgus*, *Bishop* of *Neo-Cæsarea* in *Pontus*, and *Athenodorus* his brother, another *Bishop* of that Province, *Helenus Bishop* of *Tarsus*, *Nicomus Bishop* of *Iconium*, *Hymeneus Bishop* of *Hierusalem*, *Maximus Bishop* of *Bostra*, *Theoctecnus Bishop* of *Cæsarea* the *Metropolis* of *Palestine*; and so many others, in *Syria*, that the number of them was innumerable. *Dionysius Bishop* of *Alexandria* was required also to bee there, (o) *ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος Ἐπίσκοπος Ἀλεξανδρίας*, but hee excused himselfe by reason of his age and weakenesse. And well indeed hee might so do, being then  
very

(n) *Jd. ibid.*

(o) *Jd. ibid.*

very ill at ease, and dying (p) whilst the *Synod* was in preparation. But what hee could not do in person, hee performed by his penne: writing not only to the Fathers, who were there assembled, which *Insebius* speaks of; but to the Heretique himselfe, a Copy of the which we have both in *Baronius* and the *Bibliotheca*, as before was said.

As for the other *Didymus* the then Pope of *Rome*, I finde not any thing that he did, to quench this flame. For though *Baronius* (q) being sensible how much it might redound to the Popes disgrace, that hee alone should bee a looker on in so great a businesse, wherein the honour of our Lord and Saviour was so much concerned; hath fained a Councell to bee held at *Rome*, at the same time, and for the same intent, and purpose; yet there is no such thing in *Athanasius* whom he cites to prove it; neither doth *Binius*, though in other things he takes up much of his commodities on the Cardinals word, speake the least word of such a Councell. It may be that the Popes then being, had so much worke cut out at home by the *Novatian* faction there; that they had little leisure to attend a businesse so remote and distant: which is the best excuse I can see for them. And yet well

(p) *Idem*:(q) *Baron. Annal. Eccl. Anno 1273. 18.*

(r) *Eu/eb. hist.*  
*Eccl. 7. c. 24. A*

(Y) *Bin. Annot.*  
*in Concil. Tom.*  
*1. p. 161.*  
*\* Baron. in Au-*  
*nal. An. 272. 17*

(t) *Eu/eb. hist.*  
*Eccl. 1. 7. c. 24. A*

fare the Cardinall and his *Binius* too. For though the Pope was neither there, nor had so much as sent his Letters for ought wee can finde; and that the *Synodicall Epistle* written by the Fathers, was inscribed (r) to this *Dionysius Aleximius Bishop of Alexandria*, καὶ τοῖς ἀγίοις καὶ ἀκριβοῦσι πατρὶς ἐκκλησιασταῖς, and to all other their Colleagues, the *Bishops*, o-  
 ver all the World, and to the *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, and the whole *Catholique Church*, as the title runneth: yet they will needes inscribe it to the Pope, none else; *Ad Dionysium Romanum Pontificem scripserunt*, so saith (f) *Binius*, *Synodicam ad Dionysium Papam scriptam*. So *\*Baronius* hath it; and both ridiculously false.

But to returne againe unto the Councell, the issue of the whole was this; that *Paulus* was deposed from his place and dignity; *Domnus* succeeding in the seat. And (r) whereas *Paulus* notwithstanding his abdication, still kept possession of his House, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς οἰκίας, the House belonging to his *Bishoprick*, as the story hath it: the Emperour *Aurelian*, being made acquainted with it, did determine thus; that it should bee delivered unto them, οὐκ ὀνείδιζεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὴν Πατριαρχίαν ἐκκλησιαστικόν, to whom the *Bishops* of *Italy* and *Rome* should adjudge the same.

Now



XII.

Now in this businesse there are these two things to be considered ; the man thus sentenced, and those to whom the last part of the Sentence was to be put in execution : both of them yeelding matter worthy of our observation , for the present businesse. For *Paulus* first , the Fathers of the Councell laying downe the course and passages of his behaviour , do describe him thus : ( *u* ) that being borne of meane and ordinary parentage , hee had amassed great summes of money , and full heapes of treasure : which hee had gotten by bribery and corruption , from those that were in *Suites* and differences , *ταῖς ἐν ἀποστάσει* and had repaired to him to bee righted in their severall causes : next , that hee never went abroad in publique , but that hee was attended by a guard ; some of them going before him , others following after , to the great scandall of the Gospell : And last of all , that he had caused a *Throne* or *Seate* to bee erected for him , not such as did become one of *CHRIST*'s Disciples , but high and lofty , such as the Princes of the world ( or rather secular Princes ) did use to sit in. Which passages ( for I omit the rest that follow , as not conducing to the story which I have in hand ) as they do manifestly set forth unto us the extreame pride,

( *u* ) *Jd. ibid.*

and base corruptions of the man : so doe they also give us no obscure light, whereby wee may discerne the customes of the Church in these particulars.

(x) *Id. ibid.*

For first, I finde it not objected against *Paulus*, that hee did deale some times in such *Suites* and *differences*, ( matters of secular businesse out of question ) as were brought before him : but that hee tooke bribes, ( x ) κατὰ βραβείον τῶς ἀδικήτους, and received money of such men as came for *Justice*, and yet abused them too, and did nothing for them. So that it is not faulted by the Fathers, for ought I can see, that hee made himselfe a *Judge* amongst his brethren, or tooke upon him to compose such differences, as were brought before him ( which certainly was no new matter in these times : ) but that hee was corrupt and base, not *Ministring*, but *selling Justice* to the *People*; perhaps not selling *Justice* neither, but making them pay deere for an unjust Sentence.

The next thing I observe is this, that *Paulus* is not charged by the *Synod* for being well attended, or having many followers waiting on him, according to the greatnesse of his place and quality. Their words as in *Eusebius* they are laid before mee, will beare no such meaning : though some indeed,

deed, (y) to raise an *Odium* on the *Prelate*, do expound it so, as if a great part of his pride and insolency consisted in *that numerous traine which attended on him in the Streetes*. (z) Βασίλειον συνοχία καὶ ἀκολουθία. Hee did not stirre abroad without a *Guard*, saith the Originall, *Magna satellitum stipatus turba*, saith the Translator of *Eusebius*, *Cum satellitio publicitus ingrediens*, (a) as the Translator of *Nicephorus* hath it. Now whether wee looke upon this passage in the *Greek*, as given us in the word ἀκολουθία or in the *Latine Satellitium*, or *Satellitum turba*: I must professe my ignorance to bee such in both the Languages, that though I finde it charged on *Paulus*, that hee was guarded when hee went abroad with a band of *Speare-men*; I find it not objected that hee was *Attended* by a *Train* of *servants*.

Last of all for his *Throne*, the charge consists not as I take it, in the thing it selfe, for *Bishops* were allowed their *Thrones* in the *Primitive times*; but in the raising of it to a greater height than had beene accustomed. *Cassiodore*, (b) I am sure doth expound it so: *Intra Ecclesiam vero tribunal in alto altius quam fuerat extrui, & thronum in excelsioribus collocari jubet, secretarium quoque sterni & parari, sicut iudicibus seculi solent*. Hee caused his *Tribunall* in the  
“ Church

(y) *Smetlyma*.  
p. 55.

(z) *Id. ib.*

(a) *Niceph. Enchiridion*.  
lib. 1. c. 33.

(b) *Cassiodor.*  
de Tripart. lib. 2.

(c) Euseb. hist.  
Eccles. 4. 7. 16. 34. A

“ Church to bee built much higher than it  
 “ had beene formerly, and his Throne to be  
 “ placed more aloft than before it was, and  
 “ a Closet also to be trimmed and furnished,  
 “ as *secular Judges* used to have. By which  
 it seemeth, taking the Authors words as  
 they lye together, that it was not the Throne  
 (c) but *θρόνος ὑψηλός* the state and exaltation  
 of the Throne; that gave the scandall. A  
 Throne he might have had, *ὡς ἡγεῖς μαθηταί*,  
 as other *Bishops Christs* Disciples used to have  
 before. But he would have his Throne ex-  
 alted, adorned and furnished like a Closet,  
*ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀρχιεῖς*, after the manner of Kings  
 and Princes: Or if the Seate or Throne here  
 spoke of, were a *tribunall*, as is said by *Cas-*  
*siodore*; we must not looke upon him in the  
 Church, but in the *Consistory*: in which he  
 would have nothing *ordinary* like to other  
*Bishops*, but all things suted and adorned  
 like the Bench or judgement seate of a *Ci-*  
*vill Magistrate*.

XIII.

As for the men to whom the execution  
 of the sentence was committed, which is  
 the next thing here to be considered, *Euse-*  
*bius* tels us that they were the *Bishops* of  
*Rome* and *Italy*. And possibly the Emperour  
 might commit the judgement of the cause  
 to them, because being strangers to the  
 place, and by reason of their absence not  
 ingaged

ingaged in the businesse, or knowne to either of the two *Pretenders*; they might with greater equiry and indifference, determine in it. This is more like to be the reason, then that the *Emperour* should take such notice of the *Papes* authority, as to conceive the judgments and decrees of other *Bishops* to be no further good and valid, (d) *quoniam eorum auctoritas Romani Pontificis confirmasset*, then as they were confirmed by the *Bishop of Rome*, as saith the *Cardinall* would have it. If so, what needed the *Italian Bishops* to be joyned with him? The *Pope* might do it of himselfe without their advise, indeed without the *Emperours* Authority. This was not then the matter, whatsoever was, and what was like to be the matter we have said already. And more than that I need not say, as to the reason of the reference, why the *Emperour* made choyse rather of the *We-Hesse* than the *El-Hesse Bishops* to cognis the cause, and give possession on the same accordingly. But there is something else to be considered, as to the matter of the reference to the point referred, as also to the persons who by this Sovereign Authority were enabled to determine in the cause proposed.

And first as for the point referred, where as there were two things considerable in the

(d) *Baron. in Annual. Anno. 172. n. 18.*

whole proceedings against *Paulus*; viz. his dangerous and hereticall doctrine, and next his violent and unjust possession: the first had been adjudged before in the *Council*, and he deposed for the same. With that the *Bishops* either of *Rome* or *Italy* had no more to do, then to subscribe unto the judgement of the *Synod*: or being a matter merely of spiritual cognizance, might in a like *Synodical* meeting, without the Emperours Authority as their case then stood, have censured and condemned the *Heresie*, though with his person possibly they could not meddle, as being of another *Patriarchat*. But that which here I find referred unto them, was a more *Lay-fee*, a point of title and possession; and it was left unto them to determine in it, whether the *Plaintife* or *Defendant* had the better right, to the house in question. This was the point in issue betwene the parties; and they upon the hearing of the cause, gave sentence in behalfe of *Damas*: who presently upon the said award or sentence, was put into possession of the house, and the *foreremoves*, by the appointment of the Emperour. And it is worth our notice also, that as they did not thrust themselves into the employment, being a matter merely of a *secular* nature: so when the Emperour required their advice therein



therein, or if you will make them his *Delegates* and *High Commissioners*; they neither did delay, or dispute the matter, nor pleaded any *Antient Canons*, by which they might pretend to bee disabled from intermeddling in the same. A thing which questionlesse some one or other of them would have done, there being so many Godly and Religious *Prelates* interested therein: had they conceived that the employment had beene inconsistent with their holy calling.

A second thing to bee considered in this delegation, concerns the parties unto whom it was committed, which were as hath beene said before, the *Bishops of Italie*, and of the City of *Rome*. In which it will not bee impertinent to examine briefly, why the *Bishops of Italie* and the *Bishops of Rome*, *is Palms Intervenit*, as by (a) *Nicophorus* it is given us in the plurall number, should be here reckoned as distinct: since both the City of *Rome*, was within the limits and bounds of *Italy*, and *Italie* subordinate or rather subject to the City of *Rome*, the *Queene* and *Empresse* of the World. For resolution of which *Quere*, wee may please to know that in the distribution of the *Roman Empire*, the continent

XIV.

(a) *Nicoph. b. 11.*  
*Ecc. l. 6. c. 29.*

342.

(b) Vide chap. 3  
of this 2 Part.

(c) Athanasius, in  
Epist. ad solitar.  
vitam agentes.

(e) Optat. de  
Scrip. Dona. l. 2

(d) Conc. Toyn. 1

tinent of *Italy*, together with the Idles ad-  
joyning was divided into two parts, viz.  
the *Prefecture* of the City of *Rome*, con-  
taining *Latium*, *Tuscia*, and *Picenum*, the  
Realme of *Naples*; and the three Islands of  
*Sicily*, *Corfica*, and *Sardinia*, (b) as before  
was said, the head City or *Metropolis* of  
the which was the City of *Rome*.

And secondly, the *Diocese* of *Italy*, con-  
taining all the *Western* and broader part  
thereof, from the River *Magra*, to the  
*Alpes*, in which were comprehended se-  
ven other *Provinces*, and of the which the  
*Metropolis*, or Prime City was that of *Mi-  
laine*, *pudimus ut Italiam*, as in (c) *Atha-  
nasius*. So that that Church being in the  
Common-wealth, according to that maxime  
(f) of *Optatus*, and following the patternne  
of the same, in the proportion and fabrick  
of her publique Government, the *Bishops*  
of the *Diocese* of *Italy*, were no way under  
the command of the *Patriarch* or *Primate* of  
the Church of *Rome*, but of their own *Pri-  
mate* only, which was hee of *Milaine*.  
And this division seemes to bee of force in  
the times wee speak of, because that in  
the subscriptions to the (d) Councell of  
*Arles*, being about 40 yeares after that of  
*Amiorb*; the *Bishops* of *Italy* stand divided  
into two ranks or *Provinces*, that is to say,  
Pro-

*Provincia Italia*; and *Provincia Romana*, the Province of *Italia*, of which *Orosius* the Metropolitan of *Milaine* subscribeth only, and then the Province of the City of *Rome*, for which *Gregorius* Bishop of *Porto* subscribeth first. In after Ages the distinction is both cleere and frequent, as in the Epistle of the Councell of *Sardica* extant (e) in *Athanasius*, and an Epistle of the said (f) *Athanasius* written unto others. So that according to the Premisses, this Conclusion followeth, that the Popes or Patriarchs of *Rome*, had no authority in the Church more than other Primates, no nor in *Italia* it selfe, more than the Metropolitan of *Milaine*: as may appeare, should all proofes else bee wanting, by this place and passage, by which the Bishops of the Diocese of *Italy* (taking the word *Diocese* in its Civill sense) were put into a joynt commission, with the Bishops of the Patriarchall of *Rome* with the Pope himselfe. Which tending so expressely to the overthrow of the Popes supremacy, as well *Christopherson* in his Translation of *Eusebius*, as the great Cardinall *Baronius* in his Application of the place, are faine to falsifie their Author. For whereas in the text we have, that he of the pretenders was to have possession, *ut is apud* the Translator [sic] the Possessor after [sic] whom the Bishops of *Italy*, and the City of

(e) In *Athanasius*  
Apolog. 2.

(f) *Athanasius* ad  
solitar: vitam a-  
gentes.

(g) Euseb. hist.  
Eccl. l. 7. c. 24. 2.

(l) Baron. Ju. An-  
nal. 48. 27. 2.  
18.

In Aug. 378.  
in part

Barb. Annot. in  
Martyr. Rom.  
Janu. 1.

Martyr. Rom.  
Sept. 29. 27.

Rome (g) should adjudge the same : *Christo- pherson* translates it thus, *Quibus Christiani Italia & Urbis Roma Episcopi sribuenda praescriberent*; *Baronius* (l) with lesse ambiguity, *Cui Italia Christiani, & Urbis Romana Episcopi dandam praescriberent*; to whom the Christians of Italy and the Bishops of the City of Rome, should thinke fit to give it. And for a further testimony of this equality betwixt Rome and Millaine, wee may note also on the by, that each Church had its proper and peculiar customes : Rome neither giving law to Millaine, nor shee to Rome. Witnesse that signall difference betwixt them in the *Saturdayes* fast, which in those times was kept at Rome, but not at Millaine : according to that memorable saying of Saint *Ambrose*, *quando Roma sum, jejuo Sabbato; quando hic sum, non jejuo Sabbato*. Indeed the Church of Millaine might well stand on her own *prerogatives*, as being little inferiour unto that of Rome, either in the condition of her founder, or the Antiquity of her foundation : S. *Barnabas* the Apostle, being generally reported for the first Bishop here; to whom *Anathalon* succeeded, *Caius* after him; and so successively Bishop after Bishop, till these very times. Thus having prosecuted the affaires of this second Century from the Church of Carthage, unto that of Alexandria,

*dria*, from thence to *Antioch*: and on occasion of *Samosatenus Bishop* of this last, being forced to take a journey over unto *Rome* and *Italie*, wee will next looke on the condition of these *Western* Churches, and the estate wherein *Episcopacy* stood amongst them for this present Age.

CHAP.

64 : V. 32.0

1994





CHAP. VI.

Of the estate wherein *Episcopacie* stood  
in the *Westerne Churches*, during  
the whole third *Centurie*.

I. Of *Zepherinus Pope of Rome*, and the  
decrees ascribed unto him concerning *Bishops*.

II. Of the condition of that Church, when  
*Cornelius* was chosen *Bishop thereof*.

III. The *Schisme* raised in *Rome* by *Novati-*  
*anus*; with the proceedings of the Church there-  
in.

IV. Considerable observations on the former  
 storie.

V. *Parishes* set forth in *Countrie Villages*,  
by *Pope Dionysius*.

VI. What the words *Παροικια* and *Διοικησις* doe  
signifie most properly in *Ancient Writers*.

VII. The great authoritie which did accrue  
unto the *Presbyters*, by the setting forth of *Pa-*  
*risbes*.

VIII. The rite of *Confirmation*, reserved  
by *Bishops* to themselves, as their owne *Prero-*  
*gative*.

*I X. Touching the ancient Chorepiscopi, and the authoritie to them entrusted.*

*X. The rising of the Manichean Heresse, with the great care taken by the Bishops, for the crushing of it.*

*XI. The lapse of Marcellinus Pope of Rome; with the proceedings of the Church in his Condemnation.*

*XII. The Councell of Eliberis in Spaine, what it decreed in honour of Episcopacie.*

*XIII. Constantine comes unto the Empire; with a brieft prospect of the great honours done to Bishops in the following Age.*

*XIIII. A brieft Chronologie of the estate of holy Church, in these two last Centuries.*

I.



Eing thus returned at last to the Westerne Churches, the first we meeete withall, is *Victr* Bishop of the Church of Rome, who lived in the Conclusion of the second Centurie, and the be-

ginning of the third: to whom succeeded *Zepherinus*, (*q*) who by *Optatus* is entituled *Vrbicus*, or the *Citie* Bishop; the stile of *Oecumenicall* or *Uniuersall*, being then unknowne. Of him it is affirmed by *Platina*, (*r*) *Mandasse ne Episcopus vel a Patriarcha, vel Primas, vel a Metropolitano suum iudicium vocaret, sine authoritate Apostolica damnaretur*; how he decreed that no

Bi-

(q) Optat. de  
Schism. Donat.  
l. 1.

(r) Platina in  
vita Zepherini.

Bishop, being called in question, either by *Patriarch*, *Primate* or *Metropolitan*, should be condemned without the leave and liking of the *See Apostolike*; that is to say, the Bishop of *Rome*, as the Author means it. A matter fit enough indeed for an *Oecumenicall*, but of too high a nature for a *Citie-Bishop*, to attempt or thinke of. And therefore I desire to be excused of *Platina*, if I beleve neither his report, nor the Epistles (s) Decretall ascribed unto *Zepherinus*, on which the said report was founded. Sure I am *Damasus*, (t) in the *Pontifical* tells us no such matter. And no lesse sure I am, that the practice of the Church was contrarie, for a long time after: *Saint Chrysostome* being then Patriarke of *Constantinople*, deposing Thirteene Bishops (u) in one visitation, whom he had found unworthy of so high a calling, without consulting with the Church of *Rome*, or fearing that his acts might have been repealed by the Popes thereof. Nor can that strange report of *Platina* consist, if looked on with indifferent eyes, either with the condition of the times of which hee writeth, in which the Popes had hardly meditated on their future greatnesse; or with the *Constitutions* of the Church, by which the *Primate* in each Diocese had the *dermer resort*, as the *Lawyers* phrase it, there being regularly no *Appeale* from him, but onely to a generall *Councell*. Which *Constitution* of the Church, as it was afterwards confirmed by the great *Councell* of (x) *Chalcedon*; so was it finally established

(s) *Concil. Tom.*  
1. a *Benedict.*

(t) *Apud Euseb.*  
in *Concil. Tom.*  
1.

(u) *Socrus. Eccl. hist.* l. 8. c. 6.

(x) *Con. Chalcedon. Can. 9.*

(y) *Platina in  
Zepherino.*

by the *Lawes imperiall*, whereof consult *Novel. Constitus. 123. c. 22.* More likely is that other Ordinance or Decree ascribed to *Zepherinus* by this Author, (*y*) *ut astantibus Clericis & Laicis fidelibus, & levita & sacerdos ordinaretur*, that *Priests* and *Deacons* should be ordained in the presence of the *Clergie*, and other of Gods faithfull people: in which, as hee is backed by *Damasus*, who affirms the same: so is the truth or probabilitie thereof, at least confirmed by the following practice. Where note, that in the *Ordination* of these *Priests* and *Deacons*, there is not any thing required, but the peoples presence, *adstantibus Laicis*, as that Author hath it: the Church being never so obliged unto the votes and suffrage of the *people*; but that the *Bishop* might ordaine fit *Ministers*, without requiring their *consent*; though on the reasons formerly delivered, it was thought fit that *ordinations* should be made in *publike*, as well the *people* as the *Clergie* being present at them.

## II.

(a) *Cypr. Epist.  
32.*

(b) *Id. ibid.*

The seventh from *Zepherinus* was *Cornelius*, by birth a *Romane*, elected to that place and ministerie, (a) *Coepiscoporum testimonio*, by the consent and suffrage of his *Com-Proprials*; as also by the voices of the *Clergie*, & *Plebis que tunc adfuit suffragio*, and with the liking of the *people*, or as many of them as did attend at the *election*: the number of the *Bishops* there assembled, being (b) *sixteene* in all, as by *S. Cyprian* is recorded. Which as it was the manner of  
ele.

*electing*, not onely of the *Bishops* of *Rome*, but of most *Bishops* else, in the times wee speak of: so it continued long in use: the voices of the *Clergie* in the point and substance, the (c) presence and approbation of the people, for the forme and ceremonie, *electio Clericorum*, and *testimonia populorum*, being joyned together by Pope *Leo*. Now the condition of the Church of *Rome* under this *Cornelius*, besides the schisme raised in it by *Novatianus*, of which more anon, is to be seene most fully in a letter of his, to *Fabius* (d) Patriarch of *Antiochia*: in which hee certifieth him that besides the *Bishop*, ἡ ἐν ταῖς αἰνῶναι ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, who was but one in every Church, and could not be more, there were Fourty sixe *Presbyters*, seven *Deacons*, and *Sub-Deacons* seven; Fourty two *Acolythites*, *Exorcists*, *Readers*, *Sextens*, (*Ostiarj*) Fifty two in all; widowes, and other poore people, pressed with want and sicknesse, Fifteene hundred. οὗτοι πάντες ἡ διακονία χάρις καὶ φιλαθροῦν διατρέχει: All which, saith hee, are maintained at the publike charge, by the grace and bountie of the Lord. Out of which place and passage of my Author, there are these severall points to be considered, in reference to our present businesse. First, the exceeding large revenue of the Church of *Rome*, in these early daies; so great as to maintaine the numbers before specified, according to the ranke and qualitie of each particular; the distribution of the which did ordinarily, and of

(c) *Leo's Epist.*  
89.

(d) *Extat. ap.*  
*Euseb. hist. l. 6.*  
c. 35. μγ

common course belong unto the *Bishop* onely, or such to whom he pleased to entrust the same. And secondly we may observe the singularity of succession, wherein the *Bishop* differed from the other *Clergie*: he being but one, they many in their ranks and stations, sometimes more, sometimes fewer, according to the greatnesse of the Church, in which they served, and the emergent necessities and occasions of it. Here in the Church of *Rome* to one onely *Bishop*, we finde a *Clergie* of inferior *Ministers* consisting of 154. Persons: which doubtlesse was exceedingly increased in the following times (e) *Herome* complaining in his time, *Presbyteros turbam contemptibiles facere*, that the great number of them made them be the lesse regarded. And last of all, wee may observe, that though *Cornelius* mentioneth *Acolythites*, *Readers*, *Sub-Deacons*, *Exorcists* and *Sextens*; these are not to be reckoned as distinct *orders* in the Church, although now so accounted in the Church of *Rome*; but onely several services and employments, which were required in the same. Concerning which, take here the learned resolution of judicious *Hooker*. (f) "There is an error, saith hee, " which beguileth many, who much intangle " both themselves, and others, by not distinguishing, *Services*, *Offices*, and *Orders* Ecclesiasticall; the first of which three, and in " part the second, may be executed by the *Lay* " *tie*, whereas none have or can have the third, " but

(e) Hieron in  
epist. ad Evag.

(f) Hooker Eccles.  
Politie. l. 5.  
n. 78.



“but the *Clergie*. Catechists, Exorcists,  
 “Readers, Singers, and the rest of like sort,  
 “if the nature onely of their labour and  
 “paines be considered, may in that respect  
 “seem *Clergie-men*, even as the Fathers for  
 “that cause terme them usually *Clerks*; as al-  
 “so in regard of the end whereunto they were  
 “trained up, which was to be *ordered* or *ordai-*  
 “*ned*, when yeers and experience should make  
 “them able. Notwithstanding, in as much, as  
 “they no way differed from others of the *Lai-*  
 “*tie*, longer than during that worke of *Service*,  
 “which at any time they might give over, be-  
 “ing thereunto but admitted, not tied by *irre-*  
 “*vocable Ordination*; wee find them alwayes  
 “exactly severed from that body, whereof  
 “those three before rehearsed *Orders* of *Bi-*  
 “*shops, Presbyters, and Deacons* onely, are the  
 “naturall parts.” So the Judicious Divine in-  
 deed (g) as one truly calls him. I add this  
 further of *Cornelius*, having thus fallen upon  
 the *Orders* in the state *Ecclesiastick*, that he had  
 passed through all inferior Offices, *per omnia*  
*Ecclesiastica officia promotus*, (h) as *Saint Cyp-*  
*rian* hath it, and exercised each severall mini-  
 sterie in the Church of God, before he moun-  
 ted to this height, *ad Sacerdotij sublime fastigi-*  
*um*, are the Fathers words: which sheweth that  
 the estate of *Bishops* was as a different office, so  
 an higher dignitie, than any other in the  
 Church.

Now as the speech of heaven doth many  
 times

(g) *Holy Table.*

(h) *Cyprian. Ep. 52.*

times put us in minde of hell : so this relation of *Cornelius*, an holy Bishop and a Martyr , occasioneth me to speak of *Novatianus*, in whom it is not easie to determine, whether the *Heresick* or the *Schismatick* had the most predominancie. Certaine it is, he proved in both respects one of the cunningest instruments of *Satan*, for the disturbance of the Church , who suffered most extreemly by him, both in peace and truth : the schisme or heresie by him raised at this very time, being both more suddaine in the growth, and permanent in the duration of it, than ever had been set on foot before in the Church of *Christ*. Now this *Novatianus* was a *Presbyter* of the Church of *Rome* ; and being much offended, as well at the election of *Cornelius*, as that himselfe was pretermitted in the choice, associates himselfe with one *Novatus*, an *African* Bishop , as neere unto him in conditions, as he was in name, whom *Cyprian*, ( i ) *omnium sacerdotum voce*, by the consent and suffrages of all his *Comprovinciall* Bishops had before condemned. By them it was agreed that *Novatianus* should take upon himselfe the name and title of the Bishop of *Rome*. And being there could be no shew nor colour for it , did hee not first receive *Episcopall Consecration* from some hands or other, they sent unto the obscurest parts of *Italy* ( k ) *ἡς βερεντινίως καὶ ἰταλίας τῆς ἰταλίας*, as my Author hath it, to find out three poore Countrey Bishops, that had not been acquainted with the like affaires.

Who

(i) *Cyp. Epist.*  
49.

(k) *Euseb. hist.*  
*Ecel. lib. 6 c. 35.*  
147

Who being come to *Rome*, and circumvented by the Acts of these wicked men, and partly also forced by their threatens and menaces, *ἐκονικῇ τινὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν χρῆσιν*, they ordained him *Bishop*; if at the least an Act so voide, and null from the beginning, may be called an *Ordination*. And this being done, because they found that people naturally are inclined to imbrace new fancies, especially where pretence of pietie seemes to beare a stroke; they tooke upon them to be very strict in their conversation, precise in their opinions, and wonderously devout in all their carriage: raising withall this doctrine suitable thereto, That such as fell in time of persecution, though they repented never so truly, and did what ever was thought necessarie to testifie their griefe and sorrow for their great offence, (1) yet

(1) *Id. ibid.*

*μηκέτι ὁ εἶναι αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας ἐλπίς*, there was no hope of their salvation, no mercie to be looked for at the hands of God. By meanes whereof they drew unto their side some *Confessors*, as they called them then, who being well perswaded of their owne safe-standing; and perhaps having suffered much in testimonie of their perseverance, became the worse-opinionated of those, who had not beene endued with an equall constancie. So that upon a suddaine, unawares, the Church of *Rome* was in a very great distemper; the neighbouring Churches also suffering with it, either in regard of their owne peace, which presently be-

(m) Inter. Epi-  
stolas Cypr. Ep.  
46.48.

(n) Euseb. hist.  
Ecccl. l. 6. c. 35.  
n. 127.

(o) Cypr. Epist.  
41.

(p) Euseb. hist.  
Ecccl. lib. 6 c. 36.  
n. 128

(q) Id. c. 35. n. 127.

gan to be endangered by this plausible and popular *faction*; or out of commiseration unto the distressed of so great a number in the body mysticall. Nor was *Cornelius* wanting to the Church, or the Church to him. For presently upon the breaking out of the flame, hee gives notice of it to his deare Brother and Colleague, (m) *S. Cyprian*, the *Metropolitan* of *Carthage*; to *Fabius*, (n) *Patriarch* of the Church of *Antioch*, acquainting them with the whole storie of the businesse: assembling also *συνεδριον μεγίστων* a great and famous *Synod* in the Citie of *Rome*, consisting of Sixtie *Bishops*, and as many *Presbyters* or more, besides *Deacons*. For being a *Provinciall* Councell, and not *Generall*, the *Presbyters*, and others of the inferiour *Clergie* had their votes therein, according as they still enjoy on the like occasions. And on the other side, the *Orthodox* and *Catholike* Bishops made the cause their owne: neither repelling of his Agents, who came to justifie his *ordination*, (o) as *S. Cyprian* did; or writing in behalfe of the Church against him, (p) as did *Dionysius*, the learned and renowned Bishop of *Alexandria*. The like no doubt did other Bishops. And more than so, they caused severall *Councils* be called about it, *καὶ ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐπαρχίαις* (q) in their severall *Provinces* and charges, as well in *Italie*, as *Africk*: in each of which, the faction was condemned, and the *Apost-Schismatick*, with all his *Fautors*, deprived of the communion of the Church.

I have the rather been more copious in the description of this *Schisme*, and the Authors of it, than otherwise I would have been, not onely because of that great power and influence which it had after in the Church, which wee shall finde hereafter in the prosecution of this present storie, if it please God to give me meanes and opportunitie, to goe thorow with it: but also for those many observations which any one that would be curious in collecting them, might raise or gather from the same. For first of all it must be noted, that though *Novatianus* had a great desire to be made a *Bishop*, and that he could not get it by a faire orderly *election*, as he should have done: yet he could find no other entrance thereunto, than by the doore of *Ordination*; and therein he would be *Canonically*, though in nothing else. For being a *Presbyter* before, as *Cornelius* tells us in his *Epistle* unto *Fabius* (r) *ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς πρεσβύτερον* (saith that holy *Prelate*: ) he thought that did not qualifie him enough for the place and office of a *Bishop*, unlesse he might receive *Episcopall Ordination* also. And when he was resolved on that, he would not be *ordained* but by three *Bishops*, at the least, according to the Ancient *Canon*, and the present practice of the Church, and therefore *ἐκράτησεν τρεῖς*; hee procures three *Bishops* to be drawne together for the purpose. And being thus *ordained*, hee sends abroad his *Agents* into forreigne Churches, as viz. (s) *Maximus* a *Presbyter*, and

(r) *Id. Ibid.*(s) *Cyp. Ep. 41.*

(m) *Inter. Epistolas Cypri. Ep.*  
46. 48.  
(n) *Euseb. hist.*  
*Eccl. lib. 6. c. 35.*  
n. 47.

(o) *Cypri. Epist.*  
41.

(p) *Euseb. hist.*  
*Eccl. lib. 6. c. 36.*  
m. 41

(q) *Id. c. 35. 47.*

gan to be endangered by this plausible and popular *faction*; or out of commiseration unto the distressed of so great a number in the body mysticall. Nor was *Cornelius* wanting to the Church, or the Church to him. For presently upon the breaking out of the flame, hee gives notice of it to his deare Brother and Colleague, (m) *S. Cyprian*, the *Metropolitan* of *Carthage*; to *Fabius*, (n) *Patriarch* of the Church of *Antioch*, acquainting them with the whole storie of the businesse: assembling also *ἐκκλησίαν μεγίστην* a great and famous *Synod* in the Citie of *Rome*, consisting of Sixtie *Bishops*, and as many *Presbyters* or more, besides *Deacons*. For being a *Provinciall*

not *Generall*, the *P*inferiour *Clergie* according as they stil ons. And on the *Catholicke* *Bishops* neither repelling or justifie his *ordination* or writing in behal him, (p) as did *Dionysius*

*renowned Bishop* of *Alexandria*. The like no doubt did other *Bishops*. And more than so; they caused severall *Councils* be called about it, *καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐπαρχίαις* (q) in their severall *Provinces* and charges, as well in *Italie*, as *Africk*: in each of which, the *faction* was condemned, and the *Arch-Schismatick*, with all his *Favorites*, deprived of the communion of the Church.

IRREGULAR

PAGINATIO



I have the rather been more copious in the description of this *Schisme*, and the Authors of it, than otherwise I would have been, not onely because of that great power and influence which it had after in the Church, which wee shall finde hereafter in the prosecution of this present storie, if it please God to give me meanes and opportunitie, to goe thorow with it: but also for those many observations which any one that would be curious in collecting them, might raise or gather from the same. For first of all it must be noted, that though *Novatianus* had a great desire to be made a *Bishop*, and that he could not get it by a

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before, as *Cornelius* tells  
to *Fabius* (r) *ἐκείνῳ τῷ*  
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(r) *Id. Ibid.*

*apostolical Ordination* also. And when he was resolved on that, he would not be *ordained* but by three *Bishops*, at the least, according to the Ancient *Canon*, and the present practice of the Church, and therefore *ἐκράτησεν*, hee procures three *Bishops* to be drawne together for the purpose. And being thus *ordained*, hee sends abroad his *Agents* into forreigne Churches, as viz. (s) *Maximus* a *Presbyter*, and

(s) *Cyp. Ep. 41.*

*Augendus* a Deacon, *Macheus* and *Longinus*, and perhaps some others to the See of *Carthage*; to have his *ordination* ratified, and himsele acknowledged for a *Bishop*, according to the commendable usage of those watchfull times. In which, who would not but observe, that *Bishops* had a different *Ordination* from the *Presbyters*, and therefore doe not differ from them only in *degree*, or *poteſtate Iuriſdictionis*, but in the power of *Order* also: and that this *power* of *Order* cannot be conferred, regularly I meane, and when there is no urgent & unavoydable necessitie unto the contrary, but by the joynt assistance of three *Bishops*. For how can any give that power of *Order* unto others, with which they never were endued themselves? Secondly, it might be observed (not to take notice of his seeking for the approbation of his neighbouring *Prelates*) that the first *Schisme*, which did disturbe the peace of these *Westerne* Churches, was made by those, who by the rigidnesse of their *Profession*, were in that very instant termed *Catharists*, (s) *καθαρὸς ἰαυτός ἀσκήρατος*, as that Author hath it; and that not to be Englished in a fuller Word, than that of *Puritans*. And thirdly, that however in these later times, the *Scene* be changed, and that the greatest stirres that have been raised in the *Church*; have been for pulling downe of *Bishops*; yet in the former times, the course was otherwise: most of their troubles and commotions, being for setting up of

(s) *Emfeli. hist.*  
*Ecc. l. 6. c. 35.*

147.

of *Bishops*, when certaine factious and unquiet spirits, not willing to submit to the *Churches* government, would have a Bishop of their owne. Certaine I am, that thus it was with the *Novatians*; who though they stood divided from the *Catholike Church* a long time together, yet they desired to be accounted for a *Church*: and that they might be so accounted, maintained an *Episcopall Succession* from the first *Apostle* of their sect; the names of many of their Bishops, (u) *Agellius, Sisinus, Marcianus*, others being to bee found upon good record.

(u) *Socrat. hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 21.*

But from these counterfeit and schismaticall Bishops, proceed wee forwards unto those, who were acknowledged by the Church for true and reall: and amongst those, keeping my selfe to the succession of the Church of *Rome*, the fourth in order from *Cornelius*, was *Dionysius*, who entred on that weightie charge, (x) *An. 261*. Of him we find in the (y) *Pontificall, Presbyteris ecclesias divisisse, & cœmeteria, Parochiasq; & diœceses constituisse*; that he divided to the *Presbyters* their severall Churches, and Church-yards, and that he first did set out *Parishes*, and apporportioned *Diocesses*. Which as they were two severall Actions, so *Platina* (z) assigns each action to its proper place: making the first, which was the distributing of the *Presbyters* into their severall Churches, and Churchyards, then common places of Assembly, to relate only to the Citie of *Rome*. In urbe

V.

(x) *Baron. Annal. Eccl. An. 261.*

(y) *Ap. Binuan, Concil. Tom. 1.*

(z) *Platina in vita Dionys.*

(a) Baron. in  
Annal. Eccl.  
An. 270. n. 112.

(b) Nicephorus  
Callist. Eccl. hist.  
l. 6. c. 12.

(c) Platina in  
vita Dionys.

*Roma statim divisit*, as his words there are. Which being it had been done before by Pope *Evaristus*, as hath been formerly observed, we must resolve it with *Baronius*, (a) that this was a reviver only of the former Act: and that the *Presbyters*, being ravished from their Churches, and the Church-yards taken from the *Presbyters*, during the persecution of *Valerian*; were afterwards restored againe to their former state by the Authoritie of *Dionysius*. In other places, and perhaps here also, this was not done by the Authoritie, but in the time of *Dionysius*; the Order, or authoritie proceeding from an higher hand, even from the Emperor *Gallienus*: who did not onely prohibite the persecution raised by his Father *Valerianus*, but also (b) did permit by his publike Edict, *ut Christiani loca cæmeteriorum suorum reciperent*, as by *Nicephorus* it is related. And for the other part of the relation, viz. the setting out of *Parishes*, and the apportioning of *Diocesses*, that *Platina* referres unto the Countrey, unto the parts and Provinces abroad, (c) *Parochias & Dioceses foris distribuit*; so hee tells us there: adding withall, *quo quisque finibus suis, limitibusque contentus esset*, that this was done, that every Bishop might conteine himselfe within the limits of his *Diocese*, and every *Presbyter* be confined to his proper *Parish*. And this as *Dionysius* did within the limits and precincts of his jurisdiction, viz. that is to say, the *Patriarchat* of Rome;

*Rome*; (for it were vaine to thinke that he could doe the like over all the world, being beyond the sphere of his activitie:) so other *Primates*, seeing the conveniencie and ease which redounded by it to the Church, might and did also doe the like within their commands. Concerning which, it is to be remembred, that as the *Romanes* in each Citie had a *Civill Magistrate*, called a *Defensor Civitatis*, who was to doe justice for, and in the name of the *Commonwealth*, not onely in the Citie it selfe, but also unto all the Townes and Villages within the Territorie of the same: so in each *Citie*, there had been placed a *Bishop* in the former times, who was not onely to take care of the Church of God, within the walles and circuit of that *Citie*, but also of the parts adjoyning, accordingly, as they were gained to the faith of Christ. And then the substance of the *Institution*, will be briefly this, that when the faith had spread it selfe in the *Countrie Villages*, and that it was too combersome a worke for the *Citie Presbyters*, to repaire thither upon all occasions: it was thought fit by *Diomysius*, and afterwards by other *Primates* following the Example, that every *Countrie Towne* and *Village* which had received the faith of Christ, should be furnished with its proper *Presbyter*, and that the *Presbyters* so settled and dispersed in the *Countrie Villages*, should be responfall to the *Bishop* of that *Citie*, within the *Territory* of the which, the said *Village* stood. Which distribu-

tion

tion of the Church into those smaller portions, and particular congregations, as wee now call *Parishes*; so the Collection of these *Parishes* into one united body, under one *Pastor* or chiefe Governour, which was the *Bishop* of the *citie*, wee doe call a *Diocesse*: borrowing the names of both from the Ancient Writers, in whom the same are very frequent; and frequent also in the sense, in which now wee use them, specially in those *Authors*, and *Synodicall Acts*, which did succeed the times we speak of.

## VI.

Tis true, the words being used otherwise in the Ancient Writers, such of them chiefly, as relate unto us the occurrences of the former times, have given some men occasion to conceive, that there was never any *Bishop* in the Primitive Church, but a *parish Bishop*, viz. the *Rector* of each severall Congregation, to whom the cure of soules is trusted; because they finde that in *Eusebius*, the Churches of *Ierusalem*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, are called *Paracia*: and that there were no *Diocesses*, nor *Diocesan Bishops* in the purest times, because they finde them not so called in those Ancient Writers. For satisfying of which doubt, it is first confessed, that by *Eusebius*, the Churches of *Ierusalem*, *Antioch* & *Alexandria*, as also of (d) *Corinth*, *Ephesus*, *Lyons*, *Carthage*, and many other famous Cities, are called Παροικιας or *Paracia*: There is no doubt at all of that. But then it is to be confessed, that Παροικια, in that Authour,

(d) Vide Euseb.  
hist. Eccl. l. 3. c.  
2. l. 4. c. 1. 4.  
5. 11. 15. 19.  
23. 31. & l. 5.  
c. 5. 22. 23. 27.  
&c.



is never used to signifie a *Countrie Parish*, or a sole Congregation onely, which wee call a *Parish*: but for the whole Citie, with the Suburbs and adjoyning Villages, within the *circuit* of the which, were many Congregations, and materiall Churches. The very composition of the word doth import no lesse, the *Magistra*, of a Citie, containing not alone the *Citizens*, but all such Borderers and Strangers as dwell neere, or repaired to any chief Church or Citie, for Gods publike Worship; as our learned *Bilson* (e) doth observe; comprising not the Citie onely, but the Townes and Villages were the Citie, as Master *Brerewood* (f) also noteth. And this may be made good even from *Ensebins* himself, so often cited to the contrary, (g) who having said that *Latus* was *President* of *Alexandria*, and the rest of *Egypt*, addes next, *Ἡ Νουτὴν ὑπερῶν τῶν ἐνοικησάντων*, but the inspection, or superintendencie of the *Parasia*, or Churches there, *Demetrius*, had of late received: So that *Demetrius*, being Bishop of the Church of *Alexandria*, τῆς Ἀλεξανδρίας ἐκκλησίας Ἐπίσκοπος, as he after (h) calls him, was not the Bishop of a *Parish* onely, or of the congregations in the *Citie* onely, but ἡ ἐκκλησία (i) of all the Churches throughout *Alexandria*, and those parts of *Egypt*, which were under the command of *Latus*, for their *Civill* government.

And lest it may be thought, that the word being *Ἐπισκοπία* in the plural number, may

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bear

(e) Perpet. Govern. of Ch. Ch. cap. 11.

(f) M. S. Discourse of the Ancient Govern.

(g) Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 2. a.

(h) Id. l. 6. c. 20. a.

(i) Id. l. 6. c. 20. a.

(i) *Id. l. 6. c. 7.*  
11.

(k) *Epiphani. ad-  
vers. heret. 69.*

(l) *Concil. Car-  
thag. l. V.*  
can. 102.

(m) *Concil. To-  
lecan. IV. can.*  
25. 26.

(n) *Innocentius. l. ad  
Decretum. c. 5.*

bear a different construction, from what it doth, being used in the singular: the same *Eusebius* (i) tells us of the same *Demetrius*, that he was *τὸν αὐτοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Πρεσβυτέρου* the Bishop of the *Paræcia*, or Church of *Alexandria*, whereas at that time there were many *Parish Churches*, as we now call *Parishes*, within the circuit of that Citie, as doth appeare by *Epiphanius*, (k) who doth not onely shew the names of many of them, but tells us also who officiated in the same, as *Presbyters*. So that the word *Paræcia*, in its first and primitive acception, signified not a *Parish*, but a *Diocese*, nor onely the *Cathedrall*, but all other *Churches*, how neere or farre soever situated, within the rule and government of a *Bishop*. But for the sense in which we use it in our Age, it gained it not but by degrees, after this division made by *Dionysius*, & that the *Countrey Churches* grew to be considerable for their meanes and numbers. And in this sense, we finde it used in the Fourth *Council* (l) of *Carthage*, where we finde mention of these *Presbyters* which did *Paræcijs præesse*, and were the *Rectors*, as we call them, of particular Churches, and in the fourth *Council* of *Toledo*, (m) where we reade of *Presbyters* ordained in *paræcijs* & *per paræcias*, for the use and service of particular *parishes*. And in this sense, but specially indeed for a *Countrey parish*, the word is taken in an *Epistle* of Pope (n) *Innocentius*, in which, *Ecclesia intra Civitatem constituta*, the Churches situated in the Ci-

sie,

tie, are distinguished plainly from *Paræcias*, the Churches scattered in the Countrey, Other examples of this nature, in the later Ages, being almost infinite, and obvious to the eye of every Reader; I forbear to adde. So for the word *διοίκησις*, which wee English *Diocesse*, it signified at first, that part or portion of the *Roman Empire* (there being thirteene of them in all, besides the *Prefecture* of the Citie of *Rome*, as before was noted) which was immediately under the command of the *Vicarim* or *Lieutenant Generall* of those parts. And was so called of *διοικῶν*, which signifieth to govern or administer, as (p) *ἐκείνη διοίκησεν τὴν πόλιν*, in *Isocrates*, *τὸ αὐτὸ τὴν πόλιν διοικῶν*, in *Demosthenes*: a *Diocesse*, being that part or portion of the Empire, which was committed to the government and Administration of some principall Officer. In which regard, the word *διοίκησις*, or *diocesis*, when it was first borrowed by the Church from the civill State, was used to signifie that part or portion of the Church, which was within the Jurisdiction of a *Primate*, containing all the circuit of the civill *Diocesse*, as was shewed before: the *Primate* being stiled ordinarily *ἡγούμενος τῆς διοικήσεως* (p) as in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, the *Patriarch* of the *Diocesse*, (q) in the *lawes Imperiall*. But after, as the former *ἡγεμονία*, began to lose its former latitude, in which it signified the whole command or Jurisdiction of a *Bishop*, which we call a *Diocesse*, &c grew to be restrained to so nar-

(p) *Isocrat. ad Nicoclen.*

(p) *council. chalcedon. can. 9. 17.*

(q) *Novel. cons. 123. c. 32.*

(r) *Horæ. de  
Arte.*

row a compasse, as the poore limits of a *Parish*: so did *Διοικήσις*, grow lesse also, than at first it was, and from a *Patriarchall Diocese*, fell by degrees, custom and use prevailing in it (*quem* (r) *penes arbitrium est, & vis & norma loquendi*, as the Poet hath it) to signifie no more than what *Paræcia* had done formerly, a *Diocese*, as now wee call it: Whereof see *Concil. Antioch. cap. 9. Con. Sardicens. cap. 18. Constantinop. Ca. 2. Chalcedon. ca. 17. Carthag. III. can. 20. & IV. can. 36.* So then the just result of all is this, that the Bishops of the Primitive times were *Diocesan Bishops*, though they are called *Επισκοποι τῆς Παροικίας*, by some ancient Writers: and that in the succeeding Ages, as the Church increased, and the Gospel of our Saviour did enlarge its borders, so did the Countrey Villages obtaine the name of *Parishes*, or *Παροικίας*, having to each of them a *Presbyter*, for the administration of the Sacraments, for their instruction both in Faith and Pietie, whom at this day we call the *Rector* of the Church or *Parish*.

## VII.

And with this *Presbyter* or *Rector*, call him as you will, must we now proceed, who by this *institution*, I meane the setting out of *Parishes*, in the *Countrey Villages*, did grow exceedingly both in authoritie and reputation. For whereas upon the setting out of *Parishes*, the *Presbyters* became divided into (1) *Πρεσβύτεροι τῆς πόλεως*, and *Πρεσβύτεροι τῆς χώρας*, the *Citie* and the *Countrey Presbyters*, each of them had their seve-

(1) *Concil. Nica-  
Casar. ca. 13.*

severall priviledges: the *Citie Presbyters* continuing, as before, the great Councell of Estate unto the *Bishop*, and doing many things, which were not suffered (s) to be done by the *Coun-  
trei Presbyters*; and on the other side, the *Country Presbyters*, being more remote, did many *Ministeriall Acts* of their owne authoritie, which in the presence of their *Bishop*, it was not lawfull for them to have done. And therefore I conceive the resolution of *Bishop Downham* (u) in this case, to bee sound and good, who telleth us, "that since the first distinguishing of *Parishes*, "and allotting of severall *Presbyters* to them, "there hath been ever granted to them both "*potestas Ordinis*, the Power of Orders, as they "are Ministers, *Et potestas jurisdictionis spiri-  
tualis seu interna*, a power of spirituall and in-  
ward jurisdiction, to rule their flock after a "private manner, as it were *in foro Conscientia*, "in the Court of Conscience, as they are Pa-  
stors of that flock." But because this allow-  
ance of a Jurisdiction *in foro Conscientia*, in the  
Court of Conscience, seems not sufficient un-  
to some; (x) who reckon the distinction of  
a jurisdiction *in foro externo*, & *in foro interno*,  
to be like that of *Reflexims* and *Archipodialiter*:  
they doe in this not onely put the *Schoole-men*  
unto schoole againe, in whom the like *distin-  
ctions* frequently occurre; but crosse the best  
*Divines* in the Church of England, who doe  
adhere unto, and approve the said *distinctions*.

(s) *Council. 200.*  
cap. 3.

(u) *Defence of*  
*the Sermon. l. 1.*  
cap. 2.

(x) *Vindication*  
*of the Answ.*  
§. 9.

(p) *Holy Table.*  
Ch. 3.

And because many of both sorts may be found in one, and that one publicks declared to be both *Orthodox in doctrine*, and *consonant in discipline to the Church of England*, by great Authority; I will use his words (y). “A single Priest, *qualis*, in that formalitie and capacity onely as he is a Priest, hath no key given him by God or man, to open the doores of any externall jurisdiction. Hee hath a Consistorie within *in foro paritensis*, in the Consistence of his Parishioners, and a key given him upon his *Institutio*, to enter into it. But he hath no Consistorie without, *in foro cause*, in meddling with *Ecclesiasticall causes*, unlesse he borrow a key from his Ordinary. For although they be the same keys, yet one of them will not open all these wards: the Consistorie of *outward jurisdiction*, not being to be opened by a key alone, but as you may observe in some great mens gates, by a key and a staffe, which they usually call a *Crozier*. This (saith hee) I have ever conceivd to be the ancient doctrine in this kinde, opposed by none but professed Puritans; affirming further, that all learned men in the Church of England, doe adhere unto it: allowing the *School-mens* double power, that of *Order*, and that of *Jurisdiction*; and the subdivision of this jurisdiction, into the internall and externall, appropriating this last to the Bishop onely”. So he, judiciously indeed; and for the Authors by him cited, both Protestant and *School-Divines*, I referre you to him.



him. So then upon this setting out of *Parishes*, the *Presbyters*, which attended in the same, had *potestatem jurisdictionis*, a power of jurisdiction granted to them, in the Court of *Conscience*: which needed not to have been granted before this time, when as Gods people, which were scattered up and downe the *Countrie*, did either come unto the *Cities*, there to be made partakers of the Word and Sacraments, in which the *Bishop* was at hand to attend all busineses; or that the *Presbyters* were by the *Bishop* sent into the *Countrie*, with more or lesse authoritie intrusted to them, as the businesse was. And for the other power, the power of *Order*, although it was no other than before it was, as to the power and facultie conferred upon the *Presbyters* in their *Ordination*: yet did they find a great enlargement and extension of it, in the free execution of the same. For where as formerly, as was observed both from (x) *Ignatius*, and *Tertullian*, and some other Ancients, the *Presbyter* neither could baptize, nor celebrate the blessed *Eucharist*, *sine Episcopi auctoritate*, without the leave and liking of the *Bishop*; who then was neere at hand to be asked the question: after this time, the *Presbyters* became more absolute in their ministration, baptizing, celebrating, preaching, and indeed what nor, which *potestate ordinis*, did belong unto him onely by vertue of that generall facultie, which had been granted by the *Bishop*; at his *Institution*, I meane his speciall designe.

(x) Vide Chap.  
2. & Chap. 3. of  
this 2. part.

IIX.

signation to that place or *Cure*.

And yet the Bishops did not so absolutely invest the *Presbyters*, with a power of *Order*, in the *administration* of the *Sacraments*, as not to keep unto themselves a superiour power, whereby the execution of that power of *Order*, together with a *confirmation* of such acts as had beene done by vertue of the same, might generally be observed to proceed from them. And of this kind especially was that rite or ceremonie, which now we call by the particular name of *Confirmation*; being called anciently, *impositio manuum*, the laying on of hands. For howsoever the originall institution of it, be farre more ancient, and *Apostolicall*, as most think: yet I conceive it neither was so frequent, nor so necessary in the former times, as in those that followed. For when the *Sacrament* of *Baptisme*, either was administred to men growne in yeeres, or by the *Bishop* himselfe in person, or in his presence at the least, hee giving his *Fatherly* and *Episcopall* blessing to the worke in hand: the subsequent laying on of hands, which we call *Confirmation*, might not seem so necessary. Or if it did, yet commonly, it was administred with *Baptisme*, as a *Concomitant* thereof, to (a) *confirm* and perfect that which the Grace of the Spirit had already began in *Baptisme*. And so we are to understand (b) *Tertullian*, where having spake before of *Baptisme*, hee addeth next, *Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans & invitans Spiritum sanctum*,

(a) Hecker *Eccles.*  
*Pol.* l. 5. n. 66.

(b) *Tertul.* de  
*Baptismo* c. 7.

*Hum, &c.* "Then, saith he, followeth imposition of hands, with invocation, and invocation of the holy Ghost, which willingly commeth downe from the Father, to rest upon the purified and blessed bodies, acknowledging, as it were, the Waters of Baptisme for a fit seate." And so long as they went together, and were both commonly performed by the same Minister, that is, the Bishop, there was the lesse notice taken of it, and possible the lesse efficacy ascribed unto it. But when they came once to be severed, as in the necessarie absence of the Bishop they had been before, and on this setting out of *Parishes*, were likely for the most part to be after: the Bishops, out of their abundant care of the Churches welfare, permitted that which was most necessary to the common *Presbyter*; reserving that which was more honourarie to themselves alone. Thus was it, in the first case, in Saint *Cyprian's* time, who lived, as was before (*c*) observed, in a kind of voluntarie exile, as did also divers other Bishops in the heate and violence of persecutions: during whose absence from their Cities, and their much distance from the Countrey, there is no question to be made, but that the Presbyters performed their office in administration of that Sacrament, and after which there is little question, but that the Children so baptized, were at some time or other brought for Confirmation. Certaine I am, that to him

(c) V. Cap. 4. of  
this 2. part.

(d) Cypr. Epist.  
73.

(e) Hier. advers.  
Luciferianos.

they were brought to be *Confirmed*, and that he grounds the *institution* of that rite on the example of *Peter* and *Iohn*, in the Eighth Chap. (d) of the *Acts*. *Ills qui in Samaria crediderant*, &c. "The faithfull in *Samaria*, faith hee, had already received *Baptisme*. Onely that which was wanting, *Peter* and *Iohn* supplied, by Prayer, and imposition of hands, to the end the holy Ghost might be powred on them. Then addes, *Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur*, which also is done amongst our selves, when they which be already baptized, are brought unto the *Prelates* of the Church (*Præpositis Ecclesiæ offeruntur*,) that by our Prayer and Imposition of our hands, they may receive the holy Ghost, and be strengthened by the "seale of the Lord." And in the second case, it is whereof *Hierome* speaketh (e) where he observeth it to be the custom of the Church, *ut ad eos, qui longè in minoribus urbibus per Presbyt. & Diaconos baptizati sunt, Episcopus ad invocationem Spiritus Sancti manum impositurus excurrat*; that the Bishop should goe abroad, as in Visitation, and imposing hands, pray for the gift of the holy Ghost, on them, who farre off in the lesser Cities (as also in *Viculis & Castellis*, in small Townes and Villages) had by the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* been baptized. But note wihal that *Hierome* tells us, that this imposition of hands was reserved only to the Bishop, *ad honorem patris sacerdotij quam ad legis necessitatem*, not that the

the Sacrament of *Baptisme* was not perfect and complete without it, but rather out of a certain congruities and fitnessse to honour *Prelacie* with such preheminencies; the safetie of the Church depending upon the dignitie of the chiefe Priest or *Bishop*. By which, it doth appeare to be Saint *Hieromes* opinion, as *Hooker* excellently (f) collects, "That the *holy Ghost* is received in *Baptisme*; that *Confirmation* is onely a Sacramentall complement; that the reason why *Bishops* alone did ordinarily *confirm*, was not because the benefit, grace, and dignitie thereof was greater than of *Baptisme*, but rather for that by the Sacrament of *Baptisme*, men being admitted into Gods Church, it was both reasonable and convenient, that if he baptize them not, unto whom the chiefeest authoritie and charge of their soules belongeth, yet for honours sake, and in token of his spirituall superioritie over them, because to blesse, is an act of authoritie, the performance of this annexed ceremony should be sought for at his hands". What other reasons there are for it, in reference to the parties that receive the same, I forbear to specify, as not conducing unto the *History of Episcopacie*, which I have in hand: to which estate the honour of giving *Confirmation*, hath alwayes been reserved to this very day.

(f) *Hooker. Ecc. cl. Pol. l. 5. c. 56.*

Another thing which followed upon this setting

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IX.

ting forth of *Parishes* by *Dionysius*, was the institution of a new *Order* in the Church, betwixt the *Bishop* and the *Presbyter*, being neither of the two, but both. Those they called *ἐπισκοποι*, or *Rurall Bishops*; Of which, being that there were two sorts, according to the times and Ages, when they were employed; we must distinguish them accordingly. Now of these *Chorepiscopi*, or *Countray Bishops*, some in the point and power of *Order*, were no more than *Presbyters*, having received no higher *Ordination*, than to that function in the *Ministerie*: but were inabled by the *Bishop* under whom they served, to exercise some parts of *Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction*, as much as was thought fit to commit unto them, for the better reiglement of the Church. And these I take it, were more ancient than the present times, appointed as the *Bishops visitors*, to goe abroad into the *Countray*, to parts more remote, to oversee such *Presbyters* as had been sent forth for the instruction of the people in small Townes and Villages, and to performe such further Offices, which the *Ordinary Presbyter*, for want of the like latitude of *jurisdiction* was defective in. These I conceive to bee of the same nature wth our *Rurall Deanes* in some parts of *England*; And these are they which in the (g) *Councell* of *Neo-Cæsarea*, are said to bee ordained *ἐκ τῶν ἐπισκοπῶν*, after the manner of the *seventie*: and if no more than so, then

(g) *Con. Neo-Cæsariens.*  
*Can. 13.*



then but simply *Presbyters* in the power of Order; though ranked above them in regard of their jurisdiction. To which Pope *Damasus* agreeth also, (b) affirming *quod ipsi iidem sunt qui & Presbyteri*, that they are the very same with *Presbyters*, being first ordained, *ad exemplum Septuaginta*, after the example of the *Seventie*. Others there were, whom we finde furnished with a further power, (i) *qui verè Episcopalem consecrationem acceperant*, which really and truly had received *Episcopall Consecration*, and yet were called *Chorepiscopi*, because they had no Church nor *Diocese* of their own, *sed in aliena Ecclesia ministrabant*, but executed their authoritie in anothers charge. And these, saith *Bellarmin*, are such as we now call *Titular* or *Suffragan Bishops*: such as those heretofore admitted in the Church of *England*: whereof consult the Act of Parliament. 26. H. 8. cap. 14. Now that they had *Episcopall consecration*, appeareth evidently by the Councell of *Antioch*, where it is said expressly of them, *προεβίβαντο ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐπισκοπῆς*, that they had received the *Ordination* of *Bishops*: and so by vertue of their *Ordination*, might execute all manner of *Episcopall Acts*, which the *Bishop* of the *Citie* might performe. And to this power, they were admitted on two speciall reasons: whereof the first was to supplie the absence of the *Bishop*, who being intent upon the businesse of the *Citie*, where his charge was greatest; could not so well attend the businesse of the *Countrie*,

(b) *Damas. Ep.*  
9. ap. *Bin.*  
*Concil. T. 1.*

(i) *Bellarmin. de*  
*Clavica. l. 1. c.*  
17.

(4) *Cons. Anti.*  
cap. 10.

or see how well the *Presbyters* behaved themselves in their severall *Parishes*, to which, upon the late division, they were sent abroad. And this is called in the said Councell of (k) *Antioch*, ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίας δοῦναι, the looking to the Administration of the Churches under their authoritie. The other was to content such of the *Novatian Bishops*, who rather would continue in their *schisme* and faction, than returne unto the *Catholike Church*, with the losse of the honour and calling which they had before : whom they thought fit, if they were willing to returne to the Church againe, to suffer in the state of a *Chorepiscopus*. And this is that which was so prudently resolved on in the Councell of (l) *Nice* ( in which fiftene of those which assembled there, were of this Order or Estate ) viz. That if any of them did returne to the *Catholike Church*, either in *Cittie* or *Village*, wherein there was a *Bishop*, or a *Presbyter* before provided, τῷ τῷ ἐπισκοπῶντι ἢ πρεβυτέρῳ, hee should enjoy the place and honour of a *Presbyter* : but if that pleased him not, ἐὰν οὐκ ἠρεσκέτω, he should be fitted with the Office of a *Chorepiscopus*. Which being the true condition of those *Chorepiscopi*, it seems to me a plaine and evident mistake, that the (m) *Chorepiscopus*, who was but a *Presbyter*, should be affirmed to have power to impose hands, and to ordaine within his precincts, with the *Bishops* licence. For certainly, it is apparant by the Councell of *Antioch*,

(k) 1A. *ibid.*

(l) *Conc. Nicen.*  
can. 8.

(m) *Smeilijms.*  
pag. 36.

sch, that the *Chorepiscopi*, which had power of conferring *Orders*, had to that end received *Episcopall consecration*, and consequently, could not but be more than *Presbyters*: though at the first indeed they medled not therewith, without the leave and licence of the *Bishop*, whose *Suffragans* and *Substitutes* they were. But when they had forgot their ancient modestie, and did not keep themselves within the bounds and limits appointed to them; which was, to make two *Bishops* in one *Diocese*, contrary to the ancient *Canons*; the Church thought fitting to reduce them to their first condition. And thereupon it was decreed in the Councell of *Ancyra*, (n) *μὴ ἐξῆναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν*, that it should no more be lawfull for them to ordaine either *Presbyters* or *Deacons*: that is to say, as it was afterwards explained in the Councell of *Antioch* (o) *δὲ χατὸ ἐκ τῆ πάλαι ἐπισκόπου*, without the liking of the *Bishop* under whom hee served. Howsoever, that they might have somewhat of the *Bishop* in them, they were permitted by that *Canon*, to ordaine *Sub-Deacons*, *Exorcists*, and *Readers*; with which they were required to rest contented: as also *ἐκκλήσιας διδόναι*, (p) to send abroad their letters unto other *Bishops*, which they called *Litteras Formatas*, & *Communicatorias* (as before was nored) as those that had the full authority and power of *Bishops*, did use of old to doe at their *Ordinations*. A point of honour, denied unto the ordinary *Presbyters*, in that very *Canon*.

(n) Conc. Ancy-  
ran. Can. 13.

(o) Conc. Antio.  
Can. 10.

(p) Ibid. Can. 8.

Now

(p) Ibid. Sept.  
18.

(q) Platina in  
vita Felicis.

(r) Baron. Ann.  
Eccl. in An.  
277.

Now to proceed. (p) The next Successor unto *Dionysius*, in the See of *Rome*, is called *Felix*; but no more happy in some things, than his *Predecessour*: the heresie of *Paulus Samosatenus*, taking beginning in the time or government in the one; that of the *Manichees*, commencing almost with the other. *Huius tempore Manes quidam gente Persa, vita & moribus barbarus, &c.* (q) During his time, saith *Platina*, arose one *Manes*, by birth a *Persian*, in life and manners a *Barbarian*, who tooke upon him to bee *Christ*, gathering unto him Twelve *Disciples*, for the dispersing of his frenzies. In this hee differed amongst many things from *Samosatenus*: he making *Christ* to be no better than a man; and *Manes* making a vile sinfull man to be the *Christ*. I know *Baronius* doth place the rising of this *Manichean* heresie, (r) under *Entychianus*, his next Successor; and let them reconcile the difference that list, for mee. Suffice it that the Heresie, being risen up, and being so directly contrary both to *Faith* and *Pietie*: the *Bishops* of the Church beſtirred themselves both then and after, for the suppressing of the same, according to their wonted care of Her peace and safetie. Not as before, in the case of *Paulus Samosatenus*, by *Synodicall* meetings, which was the only way could be taken by them, for the deposing of him from his *Bishopricke*; which followed as a part of his condemnation: but by discourse and Argument in publike Writings,

tings, which might effectually suppress the *heresie*, although the person of the Heretick was out of distance, and to say truth, beyond their reach. The(s) *Persian King* had eased them of that labour, who ceazing on that wretched miscreant, καὶ τὸ δέημα αὐτοῦ καλᾶμεν καλῶντας ἐκβαρύνται, commanded him to bee flead alive, and thereby put him to a death, as full of ignominie, as of paine. But for the confutation of the *heresie*, which survived the Author, that was the businesse of the *Bishops*; by whom, as *Epiphanius* noteth, (r) *Εὐμακάριος καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντιρρήσιμος τὸ ἐλέγχε πινύινται*, many most admirable disputations had been made in confutation of his errors. Particularly, he instanceth in *Archelaus*, Bishop of the *Caschari*, a nation of *Mesopotamia*, *Titus* Bishop of *Bosra*; *Diodorus*, one of the Bishops of *Cilicia*; *Serapion*, Bishop of *Thmua*; *Eusebius* the Historian Bishop of *Casarea*, *Eusebius Emesenus*, *Georgius* and *Apollinarius*, Bishops successively of *Laodicea*, *Ashanasius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, with many other Prelates of the *Easterne Churches*. Not that the *Bishops* of the *West* did nothing in it, though not here named by *Epiphanius*, who being of another language, could not so well take notice of their Works and Writings. For after this, Saint *Austin*, Bishop of *Hippo*, wrote so much against them; and did so fully satisfie and confute them both, that hee might justly say with the *Apostle*, that hee *laboured more abundantly than they all*. So carefull were the Bishops of the Churches safetie, that never

(r) *Epiph. advers. heres. 66. n. 12.*

(r) *Id. Ibid. n. 21.*

## XI.

any *heresick* did arise, but presently they set a watch upon him, and having found what *heresies* or dangerous doctrines hee dispersed abroad, endeavoured with all speed to prevent the mischief.

This, as they did in other cases, so was their care the more remarkable, by how much greater was the person whom they were to censure. Which as we have before demonstrated, in the case of *Paulus*, Patriarch of the Church of *Antioch*; so we may see the like in their proceedings against *Marcellinus*, one of the Popes of *Rome*, the third from *Felix*, who though hee broached no *heresie*, as the other did; yet gave as great a scandall to the Church as hee, if not greater farre. The times were hot and fiery, in the which he sate: so fierce a persecution being raised against the Church by *Dioclesian*, and his Associates in the Empire, as never had been before: A persecution which extended not onely to the demolishing of Churches, (u) the Temples of Almighty God; but to the extirpation of the Scriptures, (x) the Books and Oracles of the Almighty. And for the bodies of his servants, some of the which were living Libraries, and all lively Temples, even Temples of the holy Ghost; it raged so terribly amongst them, (y) that within Thirty dayes, Seventeen thousand Persons of both sexes, in the severall parts and Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, were crowned with *Martyrdome*. The Tyrants so extreemely raging, *Marcellinus* comes at last unto his triall: where being wrought

(u) Theod. Eccl. hist. l. 5. c. 28.

(x) Arnob. cont. gent. l. 4. in fine.

(y) Damas. in vita Marcellini.



wrought upon either by flatterie, or feare, or both, hee yeelded unto flesh and blood, and to preserve his life, he betrayed his Master. (a) *Ad sacrificium ductus est ut christificaret; quod & fecit*, saith *Damasus* in the *Pontificall*; Hee was conducted to the Temple, to offer incense to the *Romane* Idols, which hee did accordingly. And this I urge not to the scandall and reproach of the Church of *Rome*. Indeed 'tis no reproach unto her, that one amongst so many godly Bishops, most of them being *Martyrs* also, should waver in the constancie of his resolutions, and for a season, yeeld unto those persuasions, which flesh and blood, and the predominant love of life did suggest unto him. That which I urge it for is, for the declaration of the Course which was tooke against him, the manner how the Church proceeded in so great a cause, and in the which so great a person was concerned. For though the crime were great and scandalous, tending to the destruction of the flock of *Christ*, which being much guided by the example of so prime a *Pastor*, might possibly have been seduced to the like *idolatrie*; and that great numbers of them ran into the Temple, and were spectators of that horrid action: yet finde wee not that any of them did revile him in word or deed, or pronounced hostile judgement on him; but left the cognizance of the cause to them, to whom of right it did belong. Nor is it an hard matter to discern who these *Judges* were. *Lay-men* they could not be, that's sure. *Quando (b) audisti in causa fidei*

(a) *Id. ibid.*(b) *Amb. Epist. l. 1. ep. 32.*

*Laicos de Episcopis judicasse* ? When did you ever heare, saith *Ambrose*, speaking of the times before him, that *Lay-men* in a point of Faith, did judge of *Bishops* ? And *Presbyters* they were not neither, they had no authoritie to judge the person of a *Bishop*. That *Bishops* had authoritie to censure and depose their *Presbyters*, wee have shewne already: that ever any *Presbyters* did take upon them to judge their *Bishop*, is no where to be found, I dare boldly say it, in all the practice of *Antiquitie*. For being neither (c) *munere pares*, nor *jure similes*, equall in function, nor alike in law, they were disabled now in point of reason, from such bold attempts, as afterwards disabled by *Imperiall Edict*. A *simple Bishop* might as little intermeddle in it as a *simple Presbyter*; for *Bishops* severally and apart, were not to judge their *Metropolitan*, no nor one another. Being of equall Order and authoritie; and seeing that *Par in parem non habet potestatem*, that men of equall ranck, *qua sales*, are of equall power, one of them cannot be the others judge, for want of some transcendent power to passe sentence on him. Which as it was of force in all other cases wherein a *Bishop* was concerned; so most especially in this, wherein the partie *Criminall* was a *Metropolitan*, and more than so, the *Primate* or *Patriarch* of the *Diocesse*. So that all circumstances laid together, there was no other way conceivable, in these ancient times, than to call a *Councell*, the greatest *Ecclesiasticall Tribunall* of *Christ* on earth; there

(c) *Id. ibid.*

to debate the businesse, and upon prooffe of the offence, to proceed to judgement. This had been done before in the case of *Paulus*; and this is now resolved on in the present too. Accordingly the *Bishops* of those Churches, and as many other as could be drawne together in that dangerous time, (d) assembled at *Sinuessa* (now called *Suessa*) a Citie of *Campania*; 180. in the totall, as it is in *Platina*. Where though they had sufficient prooffe of that fowl offence, yet because *Marcellinus* stood upon the Negative, (e) *negabat se iustificasse*, as the *Acts* declare, they thought it fit not to proceed unto the sentence, till they had brought him to confession. *Ex ore tuo iustificaberis, & ex ore tuo condemnaberis*, as *Petrus*, one of the Bishops then assembled, did presse it on him. Not that being met *Synodically*, they did want authoritie to proceed against him, (f) as the *Pontifical* Doctors vainely say, but that it was more consonant to the *Romane* lawes, that to the testimony of the witnesses, the confession of the partie should be added also. Which when they had procured from him, (g) *Subscripserunt in ejus damnationem, & damnaverunt eum extra Civitatem*, they all condemned him, say the *Acts*, and all subscribed unto the Condemnation: *Helchiades* one of the Bishops there assembled, being the first that led the way. And therefore that which followeth after, *Prima sedes non iudicabitur a quoquam*, that the Bishop of the first See shall be judged of none, which (h) *Bellarmino* so much insists on;

(d) *Platina in vita Marcell.*

(e) *Acta Conc. Sinuessani ap. Bion. To. 1.*

(f) *Bellarmino de Pont. Rom. l. 2. c. 26.*

(g) *Act. Concil. Sinuessani.*

(h) *Bellarmino ap. a.*

was either foysted in by some later hand, the better to advance the Popes Supremacie; or else must be interpreted, as it fairely may, *non judicabitur a quoquam*, that no particular person, of what ranke soever, had any power to judge his *Primat*.

## XII.

(i) *Danas. Platina, Alij.*

So great a person as *Marcellinus*, being fallen so fowlely (though after he recovered footing (i) and died a *Martyr* for the Gospel) it is the lesse to be admired, If many of inferiour qualitie did betray the cause, and fell into the like *Idolatries*. The persecution was both fierce and long, though never at the height till the last yeeres of *Dioclesian*, and more than ever were the *Lapsi*, who had for saving of their lives, denied their Saviour. Who when they came unto themselves, and having made their way unto it, by some appearance of contrition, desired to be admitted to the blessed Sacrament; the *Bishops* were much troubled with their importunitie: those godly *Prelates*, being as well carefull of the Churches *Discipline*, as the unfortunate estate of those wretched men. Besides the qualitie of their offence, appearing in some greater, in some lesse than others; it put them unto no small trouble, how to proportion the intended penance unto the nature of the crime. For remedy whereof, *Petrus* the godly Patriarch of *Alexandria*, *diversa adhibens pro conditione cujusque medicamenta vulneribus*, fitting each severall wound with a proper plaister, (l) as *Baronius* hath it, published

(l) *Id. ibid. n. 30.*

cer-

certaine *Canons*, and instructions, for their direction in the same. A copie of the which wee have both in *Baronius*, and the *Bibliotheca*. This, as it gave great ease unto the Prelates, in the *Easterne* parts, where the authoritie of the man was great and prevalent : so in the *West*, the *Bishops* of particular Churches, spared no paines nor labour, for the upholding of that *Discipline* which they received from the hands of their Predecessors. In *Spain* particularly, where both the number and condition of these *Laps*, seemed more considerable, (m) the *Bishops* of the Province of *Betica*, called a *Council* at *Eliberis*, then a prime Citie of those parts ( neere to the ruines of the which, the Citie of *Granada* standeth; ) *Osius*, that famous *Confessor*, being there amongst them : where they established divers *Canons*, 81. in all, for confirmation of the publike *discipline*, and holding up of that severitie, by which the same had been maintained. Of all which number, those which concerne our businesse, are these five especially. (n) First, it is ordered, that neither *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, nor *Deacons* should leave the place in which they served, to follow *Merchandise*, *de locis suis negotiandi causa non discedant*, nor wander up and downe the Countrey after gainfull Markets. In which it was provided notwithstanding, that *ad victum sibi conquirendum*, that for their necessary maintenance, they might send abroad on those employments, their sonnes, or freedmen, or servants, or any other : and for their

(m) *Id. ibid.*  
n. 39.

(n) *Cons. Eliberit. Can. 19.*

owne parts, if they would needs take that course, *intra Provinciam negotientur*, they were required to containe themselves within the compasse of the *Province*, in the which they ministred. It seems the Fathers of the Councell were not so severe, though otherwise tenacious enough of the Ancient Canons; as to conceive that *merchandizing*, a secular employment doubtlesse, was utterly inconsistent with holy *Orders*: especially, if either it conduced unto the maintenance of their selves and Families, or that it did not take them off from the attendance on those places, in which their ministerie was required. This for the maintenance; the next was for the honor of Episcopacie. For in the 32. it is ordained, that those who on some grievous *Lapse*, be in danger of eternall death, (o) *apud Presbyterum penitentiam agere non debere, sed potius apud Episcopum*, ought not to make confession to, or be enjoyned penance by a *Presbyter*, but to or by the *Bishop* only: unlesse it be in urgent and extreame necessitie, in the which case, a *Presbyter* might admit him unto the *Communion*; as might a *Deacon* also by the appointment of the *Presbyter*. Of this sort also th's that followeth, by which it is decreed, (p) *ut ab eo Episcopo quis accipiat Communionem*, that sinners be admitted to the Sacrament by that *Bishop* only, by whom for their offences they had been formerly *excommunicated*: and that if any other *Bishop* presumed to admit him thereto, the *Bishop* who had *excommunicated* him, neither being

(o) *Ibid. can.*  
32.

(p) *Ibid. can.*  
33.



ing made acquainted with it, nor consenting to it, hee was to render an Account of it unto his Colleagues, *Cum status sui periculo*, even with the danger of his place. Of the same temper is a fourth, (q) wherein it is enacted, That if any *Deacon*, having a cure or charge committed to him, shall baptize any of that cure, without a *Presbyter* or *Bishop*; *Episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debet*; the Bishop is required to Confirm the partie, by his *Episcopall* benediction. With this *Proviso* notwithstanding; that if the partie doe decease before Confirmation, *Sub fide qua quis credidit, poteris esse iustus*, it is to be conceived, that by the Sacrament of Baptisme, hee had received all things necessary to salvation. Nor did the Fathers in in this *Councell*, take order only for the *Bishops* in point of honour; but they provided also for the whole *Clergy* in point of *safetie*; decreeing (r) by a full consent, that if any person whatsoever should accuse either *Bishop* *Presbyter* or *Deacon* falsely, and could not make just proof the Accusation, *nec in sine dandum ei communionem*, that hee should not be admitted to the blessed Sacrament, no not upon his death-bed, in his last extremitie. So tender were they in that Age, of the good name, and reputation of their Clergie.

(q) *Ibid. Can. 77.*

(r) *Ibid. 75.*

And now me thinks I see a blessed *Shine*, a time of rest and quiet after all these

Q q q

troubles;

XIII.

(s) Earen. An-  
nal. Eccl. An.  
304. M. I.

troubles; a gentle gale breathing upon the Church, after so many tedious stormes of persecution. For *Dioclesian*, and *Maximianus* his Colleague, either afflicted with the guilt of Conscience, or tyred with the effusion of so much innocent blood, as had by them beene shed in this Persecution, did of their owne accord resigne the Empire, Anno 304. as (s) *Baronius* calculates it: leaving the same unto *Constantian*, and *Galerius*, whom they had long before created *Cæsars*. Of these *Constantius*, taking to himselfe the *Westerne* parts, lived not full two yeeres; leaving his owne part of the Empire, and a faire ground for all the rest, to *Constantine* his Sonne: not onely borne of *Helena*, a *Britishh* Woman; but borne at *Yorke*, the mother Citie, or *Metropolis* of the *Britishh* nation. A Prince whom God raised up of purpose, not onely to give end to the persecutions, wherewith the Innocent Spouse of Christ, had been so tortured and tormented; but to become the greatest nursing Father thereunto, that ever was before him in the Church of *Israel*, or since him in the *Israel* of the Church. So that if heretofore you finde the Clergie reckoned as the filth of men, neglected, slighted, or disgraced; esteemed unworthy either of publicke trust, or favour, in the employments of the State: it is to be imputed unto this, that they were held a dangerous and suspected partie to the Common-wealth, maintaining a Religi-

ligion contrary unto that which was allowed in the *Empire*. Hereafter you shall finde it otherwise. Hereafter you shall finde an Edi& made by *Constantine*, (1) enabling such as would decline the sentence of the *Secular Iudges*, τὸν ἀποκρίνωται βουλαδένου τοῦ ἁγίου, lawfully to appeale unto the judgement of their Bishops: whose judgement hee commanded to be put in execution by all his Officers, with as much punctualitie and effect, as if himselfe in person had pronounced the same. Hereafter wee shall finde *Saint Ambrose*, a right godly Bishop, so taken up (u) with hearing and determining mens *suites* and *causes*, that hee had very litle leifure either for corporall repast, or private studie: *Saint Austin*, who relates the former, saying also this, that hee had long waited an opportunitie to have conference with him, and had as long beene hindred from accessse unto him; *secludentibus me ab ejus aure atque ore ceteris negotioforum hominum, quorum infirmitatibus serviebat*, his accessse to him being barred by multitudes of *suites*, whose businesse hee was pleased to undertake. Hereafter wee shall finde the same *Saint Austin*, no such lazie *Prelate*, but that he hath transmitted to us as many monuments both of his *Pietie* and *learning*, as any other whosoever, so busied on the like occasions, that hee could hardly save the mornings for his meditations:

(u) post meridiem occupationibus hominum reuers;

(1) Sozom. hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 9.

(u) Aug. Conf. l. 6. c. 3.

(x) Aug. Epist. 210.

the afterboones being wholly taken up in the dispatch or hearing of mens *private controversies*. Nay, when the Councells of *Carthage* and *Numidia* had imposed a certaine taske upon him, *propter curam Scripturarum*, in some things that concerned the holy *Scriptures*; and that he asked but Five dayes respite from the affaires and businesse of the people, for the performance of the same: the people would not have the patience to forbear so long, *Sed violentur irruptum est*, but violently brake in upon him. And this, lest the Good Father may be thought to speake it, in commendation of his owne abilities, wee finde related also by *Posidonius*, (y) in the narration of his life: where we are told, *aliquando usque ad horam refectiois, aliquando tota die jejumans*, that sometimes hee gave hearing to mens causes till the houre of repast, and somtimes fasted all the day for dispatch thereof, but alwayes bringing them unto some end or other, *pro arbitrata equitate*, according to the rules of equitie, and a wellgrounded Conscience. Hereafter wee shall finde the Prelates honoured with the titles of *Κύριοι τιμωμένοι*, (z) most honourable Lords; and that not once or twice, but of common course. Hereafter (not to wander through more particulars) wee shall finde Saint *Ambrose*, employed in the most weightie matters of the Common-wealth, and sent (a) *Ambassador* from the young Emperor *Valen-*

(y) *Posidonius* in  
vita. Aug. c. 19.

(z) *Athanasius* in  
apol. 2. Nazianzen.  
Epist. ad Nyssens.  
Theod. l. 1. c. 4.  
5. & others  
passim.

(a) *Ambrosius* Epist.  
33. 45.

timi-

tinian, to the Tyrant *Maximus*, who had usurped on his Dominions, and much endangered the whole *Empire*; which he performed to so good purpose, that hee preserved *Italy* from an imminent ruine: the Tyrant afterwards confessing, *se legationis ejus objecta ad Italiam non potuisse transire*, that hee was hindred by the same, from passing forwards into *Italie*, with his conquering Armie. So little was it either thought or found in those blessed times, that *holy Orders* did superinduce a disabilitie for *civill Prudence*.

But these things wee doe here behold but at a distance, as *Moses* from (b) Mount *Nebo*, saw the Land of *Canaan*. They appertaine of right to the following Age; and they which had the happinesse to live till then, could not but easilie discern the great alteration, which was between a Church under *persecution*, & a Church in *peace*; between a Church oppressed by Tyrants, and a Church cherished and supported by a *Christian Prince*. And in this flourishing estate, I should gladly shew her, but that my wearied pen doth desire some rest; and that I would faine see with what acceptation my present paines will be received in the world, before I give the second onset. In the meantime, I will lay downe a briefe *Chronologie*, of such of the remarkable occurrences, which have been represented in these two last Centuries; it

XIV.

(b) *Deut. ult.*

being the office of an upright Judge, and onely  
such I doe desire should peruse these Papers, as  
*res, statumpea rerum noscere*, to know as well  
the times and circumstance of businesse,  
as the things them-  
selves.







*A brieſe*  
**CHRONOLOGY**  
 Of the Eſtate of  
**HOLY CHURCH,**  
*In theſe*  
**Two laſt CENTURIES.**

*An. Chriſt.*

102 **C**lemens Biſhop of Rome, the true Author of the Epiſtles to the Church of Corinth, and the ſuppoſed Author of the Apoſtles Canons, departed this life.

103 Evariftus ſucceedeth Clemens in the See of Rome, in the which Church hee afterwards ordained Pariſhes.

109 Simeon B of Jeruſalem martyred; Juſtus ſucceeded in his place.

Ignatius led a Priſoner towards Rome, writes his Epiſtles to the Churches.

110 Ig-

*An. Christ.*

110 Ignatius martyred, designing Hero his successor in the Church of Antioch.

Onesimus B. of Ephesus, mentioned in the former Centurie, is made a Martyr.

118 Papias B. of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, at this time flourisheth.

128 Quadratus B. of Athens publisheth an Apologic in behalfe of Christians.

138 Marcus made B. of Hierusalem, the first that ever had that place, of the uncircumcision.

150 Justin Martyr writeth his Apologic.

160 Hegesippus beginneth his travells towards Rome, conferring with the Bishops, as he past along.

169 Polycarpus, the famous B. of Smyrna, martyred.

172 Melito B. of Sardis publisheth an Apologic.

175 Dionysius B. of Corinth flourisheth, and writeth many of his Epistles.

Theophilus B. of Antioch, writes in defence of Christianitie.

177 Eleutherius succedeth Soter in the Church of Rome.

Lucius, a British King, sendeth an Ambassage unto Eleutherius, desiring to be made a Christian.

178 Seve.

An. Christ.

- 178 *Severall Episcopall Sees erected in the Isle of Britane.*
- 180 *The holy Father Irenæus made B. of Lyons.*
- 190 *Demetrius succeedeth Julianus in the See of Alexandria, being the Twelfth Bishop of that Church.*
- 191 *Serapion succeedeth Maximinus in the Church of Antioch, the Ninth Bishop of that See.*
- 198 *Victor the Successor of Eleutherius, excommunicates the Asian Churches, about their observation of the Feast of Easter.*  
*Irenæus B. of Lyons, and Polycrates Bishop of Ephesus, write against him for it.*  
*Severall Councells called about it, by the Metropolitans, and other Bishops of this time.*
- 199 *Theophilus Bishop of Cæsarea, at this time flourished; as did Narcissus also, the Thirtieth Bishop of Hierusalem.*
- 200 *Tertullian, Who began to be in estimation, Anno 196. doth this yeere publish his Apologie.*
- 203 *Zepherinus succeedeth Victor in the Church of Rome.*
- 204 *Clemens of Alexandria flourisheth in the*

*An. Christ.*

*the publike Schooles of that famous Citie.*

205 Origen, one of his Disciples, be-  
ginneeth at this time, to bee of Credit.  
Irenæus B. of Lyons crowned with  
Martyrdome.

217 Agrippinus Bishop of Carthage lived  
about this time.

Origen preacheth in Cæsarea. De-  
metrius Bishop of Alexandria, and  
Theoctistus of Cæsarea disagree about  
it.

230 Origen made a Presbyter by Theocti-  
stus, B. of Cæsarea, and Alexander, B.  
of Hierusalem.

232 Origen Excommunicated by Deme-  
trius.

233 Heraclas, Origen's Successor in the  
Schooles of Alexandria, is made the  
Bishop of that Citie.

240 Donatus successor of Agrippinus in the  
See of Carthage.

248 Dionysius, who before succeeded Hera-  
clas in the Professorship of Alexan-  
dria, doth now succeed him in his  
See.

250 Cyprian a right godly man, succeeds Do-  
natus in the Church of Carthage.

253 Cyprian, by reason of the persecution,  
retires awhile.

*An. Christ.*

- Fabius succeedeth Babilas in the See of Antioch.
- 254 A faction raised against Saint Cyprian by Felicissimus, and his Associates.
- Cornelius chosen Pope of Rome, in the place of Fabian.
- Novatianus makes a Schisme in the Church of Rome, causing himself to be ordained B. of the same.
- Cyprian returns againe to Carthage.
255. Severall Councells held against the Schisme and heresie of the Novatians.
- 256 The death of Origen.
- 257 The memorable case of Geminus Faustinus, one of the Presbyters of the Church of Carthage.
- 261 Cyprian, and divers other Bishops, Martyred: Lucian succeeding Cyprian in the See of Carthage: Dionysius chosen Pope of Rome, who caused Parishes to be set forth in Countrey Villages.
- 266 The first Councell of Antioch against Samosatenus.
- 272 Paulus Samosatenus, the Sixteenth Bishop of Antioch, deposed for his Heresie by the Councell there; and Doninus

*An. Christ.*

*chosen in his place.*

*Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria dieth, and Maximus succeedeth in that See.*

*The Bishops of Italie and Rome made Judges in the case of Paulus, by the Emperor Aurelianus.*

277 *The Manichean heresie, now first made knowne; and the impietie thereof confused by severall Bishops.*

*Felix succeedeth Dionysius in the See of Rome.*

*Deninus Bishop of Antioch dieth, and Timæus succeedeth in that charge.*

283 *Cyrillus successor unto Timæus.*

285 *Theonus succeedeth Maximus in the Church of Alexandria.*

296 *Zamdas succeedeth Hymenæus in Hierusalem.*

*Marcellinus, the third from Felix, succeeds Eutychianus in the See of Rome.*

298 *Tyrannus succeedeth Cyrill in the Church of Antioch; being the Twentieth Bishop of this See; and the last of this Age.*

299 *Hermon succeedeth Zamdas in the Church of Hierusalem, the Thirtieth Bishop of the same, and the last of this Centurie.*



*An. Christ.*

- 300 *Petrus succeeds Theonus in the See of Alexandria; the Seventeenth Bishop of that Church.*
- 302 *The persecution raised by Dioclesian grows unto the height. The grievous lapse of Marcellinus, Pope of Rome.*
- 303 *The Councell held at Sinuessæ by the Western Bishopps, for the condemnation of Marcellinus. Mensurius Bishop of Carthage, the Successor of Lucianus, at this time flourisheth.*
- 304 *Marcellinus honoured with the crowne of Martyrdome, leaveth Marcellus his Successor, who was the Twenty Ninth Bishop of this Church, reckoning from S. Peter.*
- 305 *The Councell of Eliberis assembled by the Spanish Prelates.*
- 306 *Constantine, most worthily surnamed the Great, attaineth the Empire, setteth the Church of Christ in Peace, safetie, and honour on the Clergie.*

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The end of the second Part.

FINIS.